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Officials Assess Trilateral Bratislava Summit

CSFR Government Spokesman

LD1004145790 Prague CTK in English 1248 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 10 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak president's press secretary said today the Czechoslovak side regretted that yesterday's meeting in Bratislava did not last two days as it had the impression that the achieved consensus might have acquired the shape of definite document.

Referring to the meeting of the presidents of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, attended by the foreign ministers of Austria, Italy and Yugoslavia, Michael Zantovsky stated that the Czechoslovak side had been surprised at the considerable accord of opinions achieved at the Bratislava meeting, regarding the ten questions tabled by President Vaclav Havel.

Answering a number of questions concerning the relationship between the process of integration in Europe and the position of the Third World, Zantovsky stated that in Czechoslovakia's opinion new structures cannot be formed as closed ones and at the cost of the Third World. "We feel responsibility for the state of the Third World," he said, and explained the term "co-responsibility" as the fact that in the past Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries regarded themselves as an official patron of the Third World and was giving assistance to these countries. This aid was, according to Zantovsky, often orientated towards the wrong direction and took the form of exports of arms, explosives as well as imposing aid that was of no use to the recipients.

Zantovsky expressed understanding for the concern of Third World countries that they might be let out on a limb. Czechoslovakia will maintain contacts and help wherever it is possible, he said.

On the Bratislava meeting Zantovsky stated that the participants had come close to answers and now the point would be to think about and discuss the coordination of the entry into European institutions and mechanisms and ways of transforming the existing military-political groupings. Zantovsky underlined the fact that the meeting had been a great contribution to the Helsinki process and the participants had gone a considerably long way along the path towards Helsinki II.

Zantovsky paid special attention to the separate meeting between the Czechoslovak and Hungarian delegations, stating that they discussed a declaration on bilateral relations they intend to sign. While Hungary wanted to adopt it in the course of the Bratislava meeting, the Czechoslovak delegation favoured an independent meeting in the future so that the multi-lateral character of the Bratislava meeting is not upset.

In another part of the briefing, the Czechoslovak president's press secretary reacted to calls by part of the Czechoslovak public for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] to hand over its property to the state. Zantovsky described the Communist Party's pledge to return property worth 1,300 million crowns as incomplete payment of the debt the Communist Party owes the society. He informed newsmen of figures according to which annual capital expenditures have reached 13,629 million million crowns since 1972 and other annual expenditures reached 5,297 million crowns. According to Zantovsky these figures do not comprise expenditures on aid to other communist parties and similar purposes. He believes that the party's annual incomes amount to 1,500 million crowns from membership fees and economic activities. The annual difference between incomes and expenditures amounts to 4,500 million crowns. The party received from the state budget 1,200 million crowns annually while having drawn further means from sums earmarked for various ministries and other state bodies.

On the prepared strike to support the handing over of the Communist Party's property to the state Zantovsky said that not all ways of solving the situation have been used.

Returning to last Friday's meeting of President Havel, Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa, the premiers of the Czech and Slovak republics, the chairmen of the Czech and Slovak national councils and other politicians at the Lany Presidential Castle, Zantovsky said the meeting dealt with the fact that in particular the Slovak public had expressed discontent with the new name of the country - The Czechoslovak Federative Republic. Michael Zantovsky described the result of the session as a positive solution to the whole problem, not as a compromise. He refused to elaborate, saying only that a draft name of the state will be published in the course of April and should be passed at a ceremonial meeting of the Czechoslovak Parliament.

Hungary's Szuros on Achievements

LD1004231190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A trilateral summit was held in Bratislava in the spirit of unifying Europe. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Matyas Szuros, provisional president of the republic, tells Hungarian Radio, for the first time in fact, what the most important thing was at the summit.

[Szuros] We agreed to work out a nationality declaration on the basis of the plan which we sent to President Havel. It must be completed in the shortest possible time. So the main point is to work out a nationality declaration which can be an important European document. We have agreed not to set a deadline; however, the

sooner the better. I guess it will take a month or so. They have the source—our plan—and they will be working on that basis.

[Correspondent] What are the basic principles of this plan?

[Szuros] Well, the norms are in compliance with international law; that is, the emphasis is on principles ratified in international documents and reflects Central East European peculiarities; in other words, the elaboration of an open document which other countries will join as well. These norms reflect the nationality policy and the principles of the nationality policy which we have consistently represented so far, and on which we completely share Mr. Havel's opinion. He has been trying to act according to these principles for all his life, and he stressed in Budapest that they reject the principle of collective guilt. They favor the enforcement of collective rights. This was the main issue at the trilateral summit, as well as everything that is summarized in the UN Charter and in the Helsinki Final Act. It will reflect our historic experiences. Meanwhile, of course, we informed one another about what is happening in Hungary and what plans they have. However, it will take too long to summarize this as it contains several concrete measures. For instance, following the January talks, a fair amount of money was given or rather set aside for the government's establishment of a Slovak school in Budapest. We are also ready to open a Slovak cultural center in Bekescsaba. Moreover, we have made it possible for the Czechoslovak historians to study the 1968 documents in Budapest, and, at the same time, our historians can study the 1956 documents. We have also decided to form a mixed committee on nationality issues. He has a series of plans to form the mixed committee and, besides, to establish a Hungarian department in Nitra which may develop into a college and would be transferred to Komarno some time later. Other things were also discussed.

Hungarian Deputy President Kulin

LD1004170890 Budapest MTI in English 1432 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 10 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) was represented by a three-member delegation at the one-day Hungarian-Czechoslova-Polish summit in Bratislava on Monday.

Deputy President Ferenc Kulin, delegation head, told MTI that HDF President Jozsef Antall had also been invited to the meeting, but pressing election business prevented him from taking part.

Mr Antall's letter of apology to President Vaclav Havel was taken to Bratislva by the delegation. In the letter, Mr Antall laid down the fundamental principles—especially respect for human and minority rights—which the HDF would hold important in cooperation between the two countries.

The sides did not find genuine solutions to the grave problems, and no agreements were concluded, Mr Kulin said.

The chief merit of the summit was a free, open exchange of views, during which a number of thought-provoking lectures were delivered.

"The lectures delivered by the Italian and Austrian foreign ministers were the most important for us, since they spoke on behalf of the West about the conditions for the integration of Central and Eastern Europe and all the requirements serving improvements in the situation of the Hungarin minority.

"The significance of this position lies in the fact that the price at which the region can be integrated into Europe, and the need for maximum respect for the resolutions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Vienna follow-up conference, were formulated by West European politicians, not Hungarians", he continued.

Mr Kulin attributed utmost importance to the bilateral consultation held between the leaders of the Slovak parliament and the HDF delegation in the public forum. The sides agreed that they would continue their talks.

Mr Kulin spoke in appreciation of the talks with the leaders of the independent initiatives. The Hungarian delegates obtained information about the political processes and the separatist endeavours of the Slovak side, but did not wish to interfere in the events.

Concerning the anti-Hungarian demonstration, Mr Kulin said it was not very noticeable: the crowd was rather enthusiastic, and only a few people carried posters with the inscriptions "Slovakia for the Slovaks".

Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister

LD1004214890 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] There are rather contradictory evaluations of the trilateral summit meeting held yesterday in Bratislava. What follows is the opinion of the Hungarian deputy foreign minister [not further identified].

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Today's international reaction to yesterday's trilateral summit meeting in Bratislava is not very favorable. Many people feel that it will be very difficult to get back into Europe in this way. Many people think that Czechoslovak Republic President Vaclav Havel put together an overly grandiose program. If I am not mistaken, the Hungarian provisional republic president proposed that China should not be discussed. Polish President Jaruzelski believed that it was not correct to simper about in the role of missionary; and it was also believed that, in fact, the intention is to leave the Poles out of the Alps-Adriatic community. The big international news conference was held in the evening, but the Hungarian delegation did not wait around for this. Does this mean that the Hungarians judged yesterday's meeting in the same way?

[Deputy foreign minister] I do not regard this meeting as successful in this sense. It was [successful] from the standpoint that the meeting came about, in the end, so perhaps the meeting in itself can be judged as a result, as can the fact that there exists in every participant the readiness to talk with one another about our common problems, our tasks, in this or in a similar form.

[Reporter] Properly speaking, the meeting yesterday can be divided into two parts, from a Hungarian viewpoint—the trilateral summit, and the meeting of the two presidents of republic. Perhaps this is the only part of yesterday's meeting which can be called a success. Do you agree?

[Deputy Foreign minister] Yes, I agree absolutely. President Havel gave a very harsh condemnation of the principle of collective guilt, which was formulated in the 1945 Kosice government program, which, as is generally known, supplied a basis in principle for the reviling, deportation of the Magyars in Slovakia. I consider this to be a very important gesture. In essence, it can serve as moral compensation for Magyardom in Slovakia and for Magyardom in general.

We agreed on setting up a mixed committee to follow the situation of the nationalities and which will discuss the problems connected with them. We, the Hungarian and the Czechoslovak sides, are working out a joint nationality declaration, which will be based on the draft we sent to President Havel on Thursday [5 April] of last week. [end recording]

Italy's De Michelis Praises Summit

AU1004132890 Rome ANSA in English 1017 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] (ANSA) Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, April 10—Various ways of "institutionalising" the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe were the major concrete proposals to emerge from the summit between the Polish, Czechoslovak and Hungarian heads-of-state here yesterday, according to Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis.

De Michelis, together with his counterparts from Yugoslavia and Austria, was on hand as an observer. With the 35 nations involved in the Helsinki process scheduled to hold an extraordinary meeting in the fall, de Michelis said the summit, like Italy, showed "great interest" in helping a further stage in the process.

"I think the summit was substantially a success," de Michelis asserted. "It is a success that it was held, a success that the participation was at the highest level possible, and a success for what was said as well."

According to conference sources, particular attention was paid to a three-phase plan advanced by Czechoslovakia's president Vaclav Havel.

The plan included:

—The creation of a "European Security Commission" including the United States and Canada with a consultative and control role.
—The birth of an organisation of European states which would also include the two North American nations.
—The creation of a confederation of free and independent European states.

De Michelis said the proposal goes in the right direction [word indistinct] the CSCE or Helsinki process as the foundation for Europe's future architecture.

The Italian approach received further confirmation with Havel's announcement that Czechoslovakia will be joining Hungary, Italy, Austria, and Yugoslavia in the new regional cooperation started at Italy's suggestion in November.

According to one reading, Czechoslovakia may well become the link between what will now be a five-nation partnership and a Nordic- Baltic regional grouping that would include Poland, Sweden and Finland as well as Czechoslovakia.

Concrete details of this grouping were discussed at the summit yesterday morning, reliable sources said.

According to de Michelis, the summit also debated what forms of coordination must be achieved between the East European nations for them "to return to Europe," the development of regional cooperation efforts to prevent problems such as the ethnic issue becoming "negative and dangerous," and attention for the policy of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Italian foreign minister said that when the CSCE meets in Copenhagen in June, Italy will submit some proposals for a "correct approach" to the problems of Europe's national minorities.

In cases where a national minority is in the majority in the region where it resides, but not in the state the region belongs to, de Michelis believes the solution found for Italy's northeastern German-speaking Alto Adige region is "the best one."

He pointed out that it not only allows for the maximum of safeguards, but also the right to autonomy without raising the problem of frontiers. He added that the international link was found within the United Nations with Austria acting as guarantor.

He said that "tomorrow, one could study (something similar) for a different situation in a European context, within the ambit of the CSCE."

Results of Mladenov Political Consultations

AU1004194490 Sofia BTA in English
1851 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 10 (BTA)—The office of the president released an announcement on the consultations which Mr Petur Mladenov held with leaders of public and political forces on April 6 and 9, 1990. The announcement says that the president singled out as an encouraging fact the prevailing common sense under the new conditions of pluralism and confrontation of ideas and interests in the run-up to the first free elections for decades. On balance, the political climate in Bulgaria is characterized by dialogue and a search for civilised competition.

Mr Petur Mladenov told his interlocutors that political feelings are running tangibly high and that there are alarming symptoms of an escalating confrontation between the different parties and movements. "If we admit violence, the consequences will be probably fatal to the young and fragile Bulgarian democracy. Our public has repeatedly voiced its concern over those tendencies," he pointed out.

The president expressed the hope that at this crucial point the unqualified support which the various parties and movements declared for a peaceful transition from totalitarianism to democracy will be matched by practical deeds.

Most of the political leaders agreed to the president's idea to form a small but flexible team of competent experts selected on the basis of their professionalism, sense of responsibility and readiness to stand up for the interests of Bulgaria, the announcement says.

The preparations for the forthcoming free and democratic elections were high on the agenda of the talks. The leaders of public and political forces share the opinion that there is no alternative to the peaceful road of change. They stressed the need to present bulgaria in a befitting manner to the world, as its successful integration with the family of civilized states will largely depend on this, the announcement says.

Some participants in the consultations expressed the view that the ruling party should still more categorically prove its commitment to the cause of democracy. For his part, the chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] assured the president that the BSP will conduct its campaign in full compliance with the requirements of the law and will seek to create an atmosphere of utmost tolerance.

Mr Petur Mladenov stressed that in his capacity as a head of state, one for all citizens irrespective of their political, religious and other convictions, he will be working to guarantee really free and democratic elections.

The participants reached common understanding on the composition of the central electoral commission, which was then appointed by a presidential decree as required by the constitution.

All participants shared the view that there is no single political force which can now lead Bulgaria out of the crisis on its own. They confirmed the need of a national consensus on a bold and realistic reform policy which, within a reasonable time limit and without needless sacrifices, will stabilize the socio-economic situation and will catalyse development. The idea to form a post-election broad-based coalition government capable of implementing such a policy was also considered at the consultations.

The announcement describes the head of state's consultations with political figures as "useful". They produced specific accommodations. The president expresses satisfaction with the readiness with which the public and political forces responded to his initiative. He reiterates his determination to work in close interaction with all public and political forces for the triumph of the principles of democracy and humanism in Bulgaria, the announcement reads.

Rights, Liberties Movement Calls Hunger Strikes

AU1104103390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
9 Apr 90 p 2

[Text] Beginning this morning, 9 April, relay hunger strikes are being held, following a decision by the Central Council of the Movement for Rights and Liberties. The strikes will be combined with round-the-clock silent vigils in front of town halls, municipal council buildings, courts, and party committee offices in many settlements throughout the country.

The Central Council adopted this decision following a session at which it was stressed that the implementation of the Law on Bulgarian Citizens' Names was being deliberately delayed, unemployment was being tendentiously created among the members of a certain part of the population, and the homeless question was still left unsolved.

Claims are made that opportunities should be provided for the persons affected to be accommodated in their own dwellings, and that all political prisoners should be given amnesty, including those condemned in connection with the so-called "revival process."

In a declaration on these matters, signed by the movement's chairman, Akhmed Dogan (Medi Doganov), it is pointed out that on 14 April a rally for reaching national consensus will be organized in the Southern Park in Sofia, under the motto "Legality, Democracy, Economic Progress!"

Hunger Strike Continues

AU1004173990 Sofia BTA in English 1535 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 10 (BTA)—Members of the predominantly Muslim Rights and Freedoms Movement continue their relay hunger strike in the central square of the town of Khaskovo, southern Bulgaria. Two new slogans appeared today reading "Brothers, Bulgarians, Don't Yield to Provocations" and "Down With the Nomenklatura". One poster calls for mass attendance of the protest rally, planned to take place in Sofia on April 14.

The Rights and Freedoms Movement has sent a letter to the president and the prime minister saying that the rights of the Turks who are Bulgarian citizens are violated even after November 10, 1989 when Todor Zhivkov was deposed.

Ethnic Turks Break Windows in Demonstration

AU1004145290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Attack Against Gate of Council of Ministers"]

[Text] On 4 April at about 1930 [1630 GMT], a group of about 100 Bulgarian citizens, who had returned from Turkey, demanded that they be allowed in the Council of Ministers building, pushed the gate and broke a window. In addition, they chanted "Get out!"; "We want our homes back!"; and "Why are you hiding?".... According to the commander of the guard, an additional group joined the demonstrators, chanting "Down with the Bulgarian Communist Party!"

At about 2000 [1700 GMT], three representatives began talks with Council of Ministers Chief Secretary Pancho Burkalov and Secretary Georgi Yonchev. Their demands were to get back the homes that they had sold prior to their departure and accelerate the preparation of a governmental document on this matter.

On 5 April, part of the group continued its vigil in front of the Council of Ministers entrance. Roza Karova from Asenovgrad, one of the three representatives, said that they will wait until their problem is solved.

Pancho Burkalov said in connection with the protest: "The representatives of those who declared a hunger strike informed us that on 4 April they had submitted a petition to the Council of Ministers. We told them that a solution to their social problems is being worked out. I expect that on Friday it will be signed by Andrey Lukanov."

Georgi Yonchev described the case as unprecedented. In a civilized society such acts do not follow the road toward human rights.

Committee Announces Price Reform Plans

AU1004153090 Sofia BTA in English 1442 GMT 10 Apr 90

["Prices Liberalization: Decisive Market Mechanism"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 10 (BTA)—The decisive role of the market, competition, demand and offers at price formation have replaced the ruling administrative system of price formation. In relation with that the Committee on Prices at the Council of Ministers announced that during the prices reform it will consider the practice in the developed states and will have in mind the possible negative consequences, mostly for the socially vulnerable layers of the population. The transition will be an organized, gradual and due one.

In the second half of the year at least 40 per cent of the whole commodity production will be subject to price formation. This percentage is expected to be much higher as far as services go.

The liberalization of the system of internal prices began with that of fruit, vegetables and magazines, haberdashery, perfumery, jewelery, electronic games, small farming implements.

The government sets firm prices for only 13 basic farm products, among which are grain, sunflower seeds, milk, meat, eggs. Minimum prices are set for another 17 products: rice, cotton, tomatoes, apples, grapes, for which the prices will be formed during the contract.

The remaining part of the agricultural produce fully switches to free prices.

Luxury and delicatessen goods as well as the larger part of imported goods, which are not of prime necessity, turn to liberalization.

Market price-formation will most probably embrace as early as this year the major construction works, residential building excluded.

In order to overcome speculations a law is to be drafted for avoiding the monopoly and unfair competition. But as its preparation will require a longer time, the government is expected to adopt as early as this month a system for prices control.

Council of Ministers Decree on Free Enterprise

AU1004195490 Sofia BTA in English 1750 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 10 (BTA)—In pursuance of the National Assembly crisis-management and economic reform program, the Council of Ministers adopted a decree on the promotion of private and personal enterprise in distributive trade, the tourist industry and the service sector.

The decree enforces an ordinance on the sale and lease of trade and tourism and service businses, including shops, private catering estlishments, consumer service outlets and production units, warehouses, bakeries, hotels and motes.

The businesses will be sold at public auctions to private compaies or eligible natural persons.

The same ordinance lays down a procedure for leasing out of businesses. When a business is run by a company, it offers it first to its workforce members.

Lukanov Discusses Young Families' Situation

AU1004193190 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 9 Apr 90 p 3

[Interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov by Venelina Gocheva at a news conferences in Sofia on 6 April: "Alleviation of Young Families' Financial Stress During the Transition to a Market Economy"]

[Text] [Gocheva] Recently we have heard a lot about the social guarantees that your government intends to provide for the protection of social strata with low incomes during the period of transition to a market economy. The young Bulgarian family has lived on the brink of, or even below, the minimum subsistence level in the past. It is quite frightening to forecast what may await them in the future. Could you specify the aforementioned social guarantees?

[Lukanov] I think that we should devote all our efforts to the protection of young families' purchasing power and to the preservation of their living standard. I agree with your remark that our young families are incapable of supporting themselves as a rule. It is no coincidence that the majority of newlywed couples depend upon the financial support of their parents. Protection for young families should be provided along several lines. In the first place, of course, they should be guaranteed a minimum income. Second, low wages should be index adjusted. Third, we should do something about children's allowances and their differentiated increase for lower-income families. Fourth, we should restrict housing costs, especially in the case of apartments for young families, and we should expand housing construction, which should not only be promoted for economic, but also for social pruposes. These are not all, but the most important measures, expected to guarantee the young families' social situation. We must, of course, provide all necessary conditions for young families so that they may better fulfill their professional and social tasks under the newly emerging situation, when initiative will be more highly valued. We should devote particular care to scholarships, which should also be indexed to inflation, along with low wages, and which are expected to increase by nearly 100 percent.

[Gocheva] The daily NARODNA MLADEZH had to work under unusual and extremely difficult conditions last week, as a result of the conflict that emerged between our editorial board and the leadership of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth Organization. We highly value your opinion as a government leader. Do you think that young Bulgarians need a nationwide daily that should not be the press organ of any organization?

[Lukanov] We are all following this conflict with great interest and wish equal success to both sides—namely, to the daily NARODNA MLADEZH and to the the Bulgarian Democratic Youth Organization as well. Evidently, the existence of a nationwide youth daily is by no means out of place, especially considering the intention of establishing a state office on youth problems. The requirement for such an office has already been generally agreed upon. We just did not manage to resolve this problem during the present National Assembly mandate, and this task will presumably be the privilege of the next government. At the same time, however, a sociopolitical organization, such as the Bulgarian Democratic Youth, is entitled to publish its own press. I do not see anything abnormal about the existence of two NARODNA MLADEZH newspapers—one as a nationwide youth daily and the other as the press organ of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth.

Committee on Tourism Established

AU1004202090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] A committee on tourism was established under the Council of Ministers by decree. This new state body will not engage in any economic activities but will be in charge of implementing a nationwide policy for tourism. It will also provide guidelines for all tourist companies. Regardless of the [word indistinct], the relations between the committee and the companies will be direct without any administrative, intermediate links.

In implementing the decree, the Council of Ministers confirms the basic principles on the development of tourism, mapping out the priority trends in this field, including the equal participation of all forms of ownership in the tourist industry, the denationalization of property, the state-economic organization of tourism, the involvement of private enterprise, economic interests, and experience from other branches and from abroad.

The decree finds practical solutions for several problems of the tourist branch. A new taxation policy is expected to be applied toward the tourist companies, a policy likely to stimulate the expanded development and increasing variety of opportunities in tourism. The wages of the employees working in the tourist branch will be linked to the increase of foreign exchange receipts. In order to accelerate the building of infrastructure in tourist areas, it is envisioned for the local authorities to [passage indistict].

The (?prices) of tourist services will be freely determined by the companies. In order to protect the Bulgarian

citizens' interests, the prices for private rooms and board will be determined by the state.

The Committee on Tourism chairman is entitled, on the basis of an agreement with the minister of economy and planning and the minister of finance, to establish, reorganize, and eliminate state tourist companies and to determine the number and staffs of the administrative, control councils. A draft law on tourism is under preparation that is expected to comprehensively cover all activities in the tourist industry.

Finance Minister on New Dollar Exchange Rate

AU1104102390 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 5 Apr 90 p 1

[Simeon Danevski report: "Is New Dollar Rate Realistic?"]

[Text] One dollar for nine leva and 50 stotinki! This is too much, most of our citizens will say. Others, who are aware of the plight of our economy, will say that it is normal. And there even is a small minority of people who think that the increased exchange rate is not enough to wage an effective struggle against speculation.

One way or another, the increase is a fact. If a Bulgarian citizen wants to purchase one dollar from the Bulgarian National Bank he must pay 9.5 leva.

How would Minister of Finance Belcho Belchev comment on this fact?

Our wish to stop the "black market" and speculation with foreign currency was one of the serious reasons that prompted us to effect the change. Naturally, the new dollar exchange rate is not permanent. It will depend on prices in the country and the dollar exchange rate in the international market. This means that it could have ups and downs. The deviation above the real value that has been allowed aims at curbing the "black market," and imposing order in foreign currency deals. When a more strict mechanism for controlling this market is introduced, a realistic rate of exchange will be introduced.

It would be interesting to mention an additional fact. The number of Bulgarian tourists during the first three months of the year was as large as the total number of Bulgarian tourists in 1988 and 1989 respectively. Everyone knows what the country's economic situation is and how great the shortage of foreign currency is. Therefore, it is better that we help ourselves before we begin to seek help elsewhere.

Now the tourists will be able to take only $30 while leaving the country. The country's possibilities are limited, Minister Belchev said in conclusion.

Central Election Commission Appointed

AU1004160190 Sofia BTA in English 1531 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 10 (BTA)—A Central Election Commission was appointed today by presidential decree, for holding elections of a Grand National Assembly on June 10 this year.

Prof Zhivko Stalev, jurist, and Ivan Efremov, judge at the Supreme Court, were elected chairmen of the commission. Secretary is Dimitur Popov, jurist.

Twenty distinguished Bulgarian scholars, jurists, public figures, economists and writers have been elected members of the commission.

Lilov Starts BSP Election Campaign

AU1004180690 Sofia BTA in English 1707 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 10 (BTA)—The press-desk of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) for the pre-election campaign was opened today. Aleksandur Lilov, BSP chairman, said that the BSP does not stand for total negation but for total reform. According to him socialism is no longer an utopia but an idea which should be realized in the unforeseeable future. Socialism, according to the BSP present understanding means freedom, democracy, good living conditions, prosperity today and not in the future.

The party's ideological renewal, Aleksandur Lilov said, is one of the conditions for the BSP all-round restructuring. He stressed the need of giving a new meaning to the whole history and the whole theory of the BSP. We are living in a world with new realities and still have not a Marxist answer to these realities, to the processes which characterize them and the trends which distinguish them. It is necessary to switch to a new stage in the development of our theory, and for a radical expansion of the BSP intellectual horizons, which should include all achievements of human thought, created till now and particularly in our time, Lilov said.

"What capitalists are interested in is not the color of banners but the economic conditions," Lilov said concerning a statement that the BSP should lose the elections as otherwise Bulgaria will not get assistance from the West.

Supreme Party Council Meeting

AU1004105190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Apr 90 pp 1, 5

[Goran Gotev and Angel Bonev report on a meeting of the Supreme Party Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party in Sofia on 3 April: "Meeting of the Supreme Party Council"]

[Text] April 3 was a remarkable date in the history of our political life—it was the day on which the Bulgarian

Socialist Party [BSP] appeared for the first time in our public life. At a joint session of the Supreme Party Council, the Central Commission on Party Ethics, and the Central Finance-Auditing Commission, with the participation of the chairmen of municipal party councils, released the results of the all-party referendum, in which 86.71 percent of the members polled expressed their approval for renaming the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

The session was chaired by Andrey Lukanov.

On item one of the agenda, referendum commission Chairman Dobri Dzhurov stressed that the majority of party members accepted the idea of changing the party's name with profound conviction. The referendum evoked great response and personally involved the party members in the debates about the essence of the party's renewal; it created an atmosphere of creative quest. Along with this, part of the Communists expressed their reservations, while others categorically declared their objection against changing the party's name and in favor of preserving its name. The commission has not received any complaints, objections, or special tips indicating violations of the democratic spirit or efforts to forge the results. The referendum proceeded in a democratic atmosphere, in accordance with the requirements of the party statute and the decision of the Supreme Party Council. The results correctly reflect the party members' opinions, Dzhurov stated.

Supreme Party Council Chairman Aleksandur Lilov read a report on the second item of the agenda containing the conclusions from the party referendum, under the title: "The Change of The Party's Name—A Historical Act of Self-Renewal." According to Aleksandur Lilov, the first conclusion is that we selected the method of changing the party's name in good time, which confirms the course of events in our country, in other East European socialist countries, and worldwide.

The second conclusion is that the change of the party's name was an event of historic importance. Why? Because, today the BSP is involved in a process of fundamental reassessment of its theoretical and practical goals and of its experience in the light of the new realities and new problems.

Today, the basic question for us is not the question whether we have or do not have a new strategy, but the question of how we should define this strategy in the most effective manner. We should not abandon our ideals, but we should not engage in utopias about an unforseeable future. We should adopt a realistic, feasible, and attractive historical goal. This goal should be to build a democratic society based on social justice, a society that will provide equal rights and opportunities for the people—a free society in which every individual and all people in common have a chance—a society of democratic socialism.

The third conclusion is that the change of name means a new party policy, and the requirement of adopting new tactics today—at the threshold of the nineties, and on the eve of the first free elections in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This is a policy of fundamental and radical changes and reforms in the economic and social sectors, in cultural life, in the legislative system, and in public life, as a whole, under conditions of a peaceful transition to democracy.

According to the Supreme Party Council chairman, the fourth conclusion is that by adopting the name "socialist" our party expresses the aspiration to revive the most valuable assets that were adopted at its original, constituent congress on Buzludzha Peak. Dimitur Blagoev and his fellow workers not only lit the flame of socialism in our country and established the first Marxist party in Bulgaria, but also bequeathed us great values, such as education, immaculate moral virtues, dignity, and honesty, a democratic spirit, and loyalty to the socialist ideal.

These traditions were further developed by different currents of the Bulgarian socialist movement at different periods of time, Comrade Aleksandur Lilov said.

We will always be proud of the fact that Georgi Dimitrov, a Bulgarian and a Communist, was responsible for the first moral-political defeat of fascism at the time of the Leipzig trial. We are proud of our party's contribution to the struggle against fascism and the reactionary forces. This contribution is expressed by thousands of fighters who were killed, who were tortured in prisons and concentration camps. These victims and their sacrifice are sacred for us. We are proud of the fact that our party was the initiator in rallying all democratic and antifascist forces in one, united front. This experience is particularly valuable and topical today, because it convincingly shows that, regardless of ideological and political differences, the democratic forces, if they are truly democratic, can and must engage in constructive efforts of cooperation for the sake of our motherland.

Our party has no intention of introducing itself as a party that "has no past." Naturally, our past is not entirely uncontroversial, however, it is marked by a numerous remarkable events of everlasting importance. In examining our past, however, we can find things that we should reject. This applies, above all, to the ideology and practice of Stalinism, to its distorted model of socialist society, to the repressions against innocent people—both party members and nonparty members—which it involved. In adopting the name "Socialist Party" —and this is the fifth conclusion—we distance ourselves from the roots, from the original causes, from the facts, from the exponents, and from those responsible for the shortcomings and abuses that were committed in the past; we denounce and reject them as being incompatible with socialism.

We renounce the claims for monopoly over the truth; we renounce intolerance toward those who share different ideas from ours, such intolerance being incompatible with Marxism. This intolerance, invested with state

power, became a basis for violence and mass repressions in the name of the bright noble ideals of socialism. Today we resolutely reject this distorted approach according to which it is possible to achieve noble goals by corrupt and dishonest methods.

The sixth conclusion is related to the very nature of the party, to the question of our concept on the party's renewal. Our party is expected to become a new type of party; it should be transformed into a modern political party. In citing several arguments in support of this conclusion, Aleksandur Lilov stated, among other things: Our party fought for the victory of proletarian dictatorship, but it achieved the dictatorship of uncontrolled totalitarian power in recent years. A contemporary socialist party should by no means tolerate any form of dictatorship whatsoever; it should build its influence, its impact, and its force of attraction solely on the principles of democracy, on democratic social relations. A contemporary party should be disciplined but open to initiative; it should be strictly organized but open to alternative thinking; it should be a party of freely acting free people who share common goals and ideals.

The seventh conclusion is that the process of renewal is expected to be a long, difficult, and even painful one. In this connection, the Supreme Party Council chairman pointed out, among other things, that the party's liberation from corrupt individuals, who encroached upon party and universal human ethics, from people who had admitted abuses and committed crimes, as well as from those people who are incapable of coping with their tasks, is a particularly important task. Our historical chance is in achieving the party's fundamental and genuine renewal.

The eighth conclusion is that the implementatation of the party's decision to change its name proceeded in the most democratic manner. The overwhelming part of our party members, far from being indifferent to this issue, actively participated in the action of changing the party's name. This means that the congress was correct in deciding to hold a referendum on the party's name.

The ninth conclusion—these are the positive and realistic results of the referendum. The majority were in favor of changing the party's name, and this is a great encouragement for us; it is a real support. The overwhelming majority of the party members not only rejected the shortcomings of the past, they not simply believe in the selected path, but they are ready to work and struggle for its implementation.

The 10th conclusion is related to the future prospects that are emerging before the party as a result of the referendum results. The question of the party's unity and the approach to its election platform plays a role of primary importance in this respect. If the comrades who do not agree with the party's new name should adopt some organized steps, they would be wrong in doing so. We can even say that they would commit a grave political error—both toward the party and toward the country as a whole.

The 11th conclusion is the following: It is exceptionally important for us to build the image of the BSP and to prove that it is a party devoted to change, but at the same time, a party guaranteeing security and peaceful transition. We are in favor of a transition to democracy, as long as the transition is democratic, peaceful, bloodless, and civilized. We support the transition to a market economy, as long as it requires minimal social sacrifices and provides the best guarantees for the preservation of all social welfare benefits and equal rights for all our people.

We would certainly discredit ourselves if in nominating candidates for National Assembly deputies, our apparatus would "settle" its own favorite candidates. Such attempts at imposing unpopular and incompetent nominees should be unconditionally suppressed. It is important to select and propose only strong, competent, honest, uncompromised, and very authoritative party representatives, who enjoy the people's confidence, as candidates for National Assembly deputies.

The 12th conclusion concerns the question of relations between the BSP and Marxist, socialist, social democratic, and other left-wing parties in Europe and worldwide.

In closing his report, the Supreme Party Council chairman stressed that the process of the party's renewal is the source of its vital strength. Only in the purpose-oriented and accelerated progress toward a new type of party, toward a new policy and a new image in the people's eyes, will we be able to obtain favorable results in the elections expected to take place in June 1990.

We are aspiring for good results, and we are confident about achieving them, but we should unmistakably declare that we are not preparing for an election victory at all costs and by all means. We will struggle for free elections, for a honest and democratic election campaign, and for a honest, democratic election victory in free elections, Comrade Aleksandur Lilov stated.

The floor was later given to Stefan Prodev, chief editor of the daily DUMA, who explained the reasons for the changing the name of the party's press organ.

Comrades Ivan Zvunov, Valeri Petrov, Khristo Dobrev, Georgi Pilashev, Petko Machkovski, Lyuben Dinov, Stoyan Kutsarov, Nikola Gochev, Severina Metodieva, Veselin Dimchev, and Boris Dimovski expressed support for the decisions proposed, but also some critical remarks, during the ensuing, lively debates.

On the basis of the results from the all-party referendum, the Supreme Party Council adopted the following decision after open voting, with two abstentions:

One: In expressing the will of the majority of party members, the Supreme Party Council announces the new name of our party: the Bulgarian Socialist Party, valid as of 3 April 1990.

Two: The Supreme Party Council Presidium is entrusted with the task of registering the party under its new name according to the existing legal procedures valid in our country. All legal and property questions stemming from the position of the Bulgarian Socialist Party as the legitimate successor of the Bulgarian Communist Party will be settled.

Three: The Supreme Party Council Presidium will introduce the corrections, stemming from the change of the party's name, in the Party Statute and Manifesto of Democratic Socialism, as well as in all other party documents.

Four: The Supreme Party Council Presidium will introduce the necessary changes in all party symbols, such as the banner, the emblem, seals, and others, in accordance with the new name.

The Supreme Party Council Presidium approves the basic political conclusions drawn from the party's change of name and recommends to the primary party oranizations and to the municipal party councils that they extensively apply these conclusions in the course of their work related to the further renewal of the BSP and in the forthcoming campaign.

As to item four of the agenda, the Supreme Party Council adopted the following decision after open voting, with two votes against and three abstentions:

The party's new name and the new concept of the BSP's press organ—the daily DUMA—are approved.

After this, the floor was given to Comrade Aleksandur Lilov, who proposed some organizational changes in the Supreme Party Council and its Presidium. In connection with the introduction of the presidential institution by the National Assembly in our country, and because of Petur Mladenov's election as the first president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the latter will he relieved of his post as a member of the Supreme Party Council and of its Presidium.

Petur Mladenov stated as follows: "I am leaving the leadership of the BSP in accordance with the equirement of the Constitution, but I will remain a rank-and-file party member, being a profoundly convinced Communist."

On the basis of an open vote, the Supreme Party Council decided to release Petur Mladenov from the Supreme Party Council and from its Presidium in connection with his election to the office of president and in accordance with the constitutional requirement that this institution should be above party interests.

At the same time, Stanko Todorov and Lyuben Gotsev were proposed to be elected members of the Supreme Party Council Presidium and were elected by secret ballot. (Todorov was elected with 120 votes against two and Gotesv with 121 votes against one).

The meeting of the Supreme Party Council closed after this election.

UDF Views BCP Election Campaign Methods

AU1104083190 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 2 Apr 90 p 4

[Tsvetan Pavlov report: "About 'Equal' Election Campaign Conditions"]

[Text] The public secret that the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] is a rich party was disclosed to the members of the new, so-called Kultura Complex (!) established in the Arsenal Company, during a rally organized by the Kazunluk Municipal Party Council and held on 30 March in the center of Kazunluk. In addition to the already well-known "modern" party slogans trailing from a balloon, the rally organizers also hoisted the notorious traditional symbol without which Communists cannot do on such occasions, namely the Soviet flag with hammer and sickle, which is supposed to be their own party banner, and therefore they continue to hoist it above—or at best next to—our national flag.

When the rally was opened by the notorious "people's artist," actor Stefan Danailov, there were still quite a few spectators, but as we later learned, the Gypsies and the folk music lovers came especially to hear the Ibryam Khapazov Band and left after the performance. Young people and students, some of whom were even granted several hours off school for the occasion (where was the Ministry of National Education?), listened to the "Factor" rock band, after which they dispersed. Only the party "stalwarts" remained, in addition to some curious citizens who were given the day off for the occasion and were ordered to march "as a body" to the rally.

Some of them reacted to the slogans "Lovech" and "Belene" being chanted by the democratic forces of the city and began to shout "boo."

This exchange disturbed the party leader and he interrupted his speech in order to assess the situation. In the meantime, some sturdy fellows in civilian clothes demonstrated "patience and tolerance" by gently kicking the participants in the human chain of the opposition and tearing their leaflets apart. Mr Lilov gave an autograph to the city's well-known Maoist M. Tashev, but he did not have the opportunity to give one to the former Belene camp inmate V. Kolibarov.

"The honest Communists" were careful enough to spare their leader and themselves from reminiscences of the past.

On the same morning, veteran party worker L.S., was overheard to say: "It is outrageous! The buses from the neighboring village were stopped when the opposition rally was held, while for our party's rally special buses are

organized, and trees are planted..." As I learned later, she did not attend the BCP rally.

As far as we understood, however, the event in question was sponsored by the Arsenal Company.

UDF Members Harassed During Campaign

AU1104084590 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 2 Apr 90 p 1

[Doncho Papazov report: "Chronicle of the Election Campaign"]

[Text] We are currently receiving reports of threats against and persecution of Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] members during the election campaign.

The highly educated Senior Scientific Fellow Petko Ivanov from the Wheat and Sunflower Institute rejected a leave application submitted by Gavril Gavrilov, Tolbukhin Regional Election Club chairman, for the period of the election campaign. The applicant was advised that he "better not waste his time on such activities," and, in case he should insist upon participating in the UDF election campaign, to leave the institute. Mr. Gavrilov was warned that he would be affected by the forthcoming staff reductions at the institute, the matter being supposedly agreed upon with Director Aleksandur Karaivanov.

We all realize that the election struggle is a power struggle. However, it should be a peaceful and democratic struggle in which saber rattling and threats should be out of place. The Bulgarian Communist Party itself decided to disband primary party organizations in plants and institutes.

Leaders who take advantage of and speculate with their official positions, who apply economic and political pressure to try to achieve their election goals should be publicly exposed. We would like to remind such impudent individuals of the recent election results in Poland, the GDR, and Hungary. Let them remember the simple fact that in a democratic society all power is transient and that this applies in particular to those who for as long as 45 years tried out systems of control at the people's expense.

Electric Power Shortage Announced

AU1004204690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] As a result of the shortcomings of the fifth and [word indistinct] power unit in Kozloduy, and [words indistinct] along with the drastically dropping temperatures, once again there were power supply difficulties. These difficulties resulted in interrruptions in service throughout the day. Electricity was interrupted in various areas of the country throughout the day.

According to an Energy Committee report, the instructions to put into operation the countrywide heating system were (?not) implemented. [passage indistinct]

As a result of increased power consumption, some consumers may be cut off from the power supply network. This is expected to take place tonight at [word indistinct]. The large industrial consumers should expect to operate at reduced power. A power shortage may also occur in the early morning hours of 11 April.

Ecological Group Holds First Meeting

AU1004200690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] A working group of the National Assembly on Ecological Problems, headed by Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Chudomir Aleksandrov, held its first meeting at the Plovdiv Municipal People's Council today. The meeting was attended by Lead and Zinc Company managers, by representatives of municipalities that are affected by this company's production activities, by Coordination Council for Ecological Protection members, and members of the local Ecoglasnost organizations.

According to data provided at the meeting, the Lead and Zinc Company is strictly implementing the 8 March 1990 decisions of the Council of Ministers. These decisions contain measures on improving the ecological situation in the area of the Dimitur Blagoev Non-Ferrous Metallurgical Combine.

Nevertheless, the additional data submitted by the Ministry of National Health, Social Welfare, and Ecology, proved that the implementation of the instructions contained in the decision will not resolve the problems and that the protest of the population in the area is justified.

Chudomir Aleksandrov spoke on a serious new reassessment of all pro and cons related to halting lead and zinc production in the country. After the additionally collected information, the government realizes that the objections of the population in the area of the combine are justified in two directions: namely, concerning the deadlines of eliminating lead production and concerning the expediency of pursuing the zinc production.

Nuclear Specialist Lists Problems at Plant

AU1104092090 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian No. 7, 21 Mar 90 p 5

[Undated letter from Manol Khristov, chief specialist in the "Cadre Provision" Department, Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant: "The Tension Remains"]

[Excerpts] A parody! That is the only way to describe the news conference broadcast by Bulgarian Television on 13 March 1990.

At the very start, it became clear that this program was manipulated and directed according to a scenario that suited Minister Todoriev. If anyone tries to dispute this assertion, he should first of all answer the question: Why was the news conference announced on the topic of "the Nuclear Energy Industry" replaced at the last moment by

one on the subject: "The Energy Industry Today; What About Tomorrow?" What did the viewers think of the compliments paid by the program moderator to Minister Todoriev, and how did his praises sound concerning the professional competence and "masterly skill" of the unsurpassed specialist in the energy industry field? On this occasion, the moderator simply left the professor of "the great science" free to deliver a lecture to the viewers, a lecture from which one could understand practically nothing because of the academic style, and which failed to make clear to anyone the reasons for the following:

—the serious and critical state of the technical and technological installations in the classical energy industry (thermoelectric and hydroelectric power plants);
—the new and future trends for developing the Bulgarian energy industry during the 1990-2030 period; [passage omitted]
—the critical state of our nuclear energy industry, which produces 40 percent of the country's electric energy; and, lastly,
—nothing was said about the market economy toward which our country is moving, and how this will affect the energy industry.

After Professor Nikola Todoriev had placed an extremely high stake on the energy industry, he deliberately evaded questions about this industry's condition and problems. No attempt was made even to say a few words about the stability of the energy industry, which is directly dependent upon the uninterrupted operation of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. Prof. N. Todoriev was equal to the occasion. He is very well acquainted with the major problems that for one reason or another are still unsolved. What is more, these problems are deliberately being concealed, and have been passed over for years. They are the following:

—the series of unhappy and badly thought-out design solutions;
—the low quality of the technical equipment and technological installations;
—the extremely low and unsatisfactory standard of the construction and installation work;
—the practice of accepting nuclear generating units for operation with critical comments, which subsequently take years to correct; and
—the low standard of repair and maintenance of the generating units because of the inadequate and inefficient material and technical support. [passage omitted]

Belchev on Effort Against Drug Trafficking

AU1104080890 Sofia BTA in English 0700 GMT 11Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA)—At the world meeting of ministers for reducing the use of drugs and combat of a cocaine threat the leader of the Bulgarian delegation, Belcho Belchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of finances, said that Bulgaria is a supporter of the comprehensive approach in the combat of drugs abuse and the illegal spread of drugs. Bulgaria is not a consumer of the drugs which come from the outside of the country and she thus enters the category of the transit states but the Bulgarian customs authorities pay special attention to the combat of drugs smuggling, Belcho Belchev said. The information offered by Bulgaria has many a time brought to the doing away of large criminal groups in other countries.

Belcho Belchev spoke of the wide cooperation of the Bulgarian customs officers and Bulgaria with the specialized bodies of the UNO [United Nations Organization], the Council for Customs Cooperation, the International Committee for Narcotics Control, about regional and bilateral meetings on issues of cooperation. From May 21 through 25 this year, the Bulgarian customs authorities and the Council for Customs Cooperation will participate in a large international conference on issues of smuggling, he said. A modern control equipment is being constructed at the Kapitan Andreevo borderline check point with the collaboration of the UNO fund for narcotics abuse control.

Balkan Airline Technical Equipment Investigated

AU0604125090 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Apr 90 p 3

[BTA report: "The Safety of Flights in the Balkan Civil Airline"]

[Text] Sofia, 2 April (BTA)—The State and People's Control Committee's investigation of the observance of norms and regulations for Balkan Airline domestic flights and of the financial resources for its maintainance deserves particular attention because it affects the safety of the flights. The leaderships of the Air Traffic Administation and the State Air Traffic Inspectorate—two specialized Ministry of Transportation offices—are directly responsible for these activities.

Which investigation results are a cause of concern? This applies, above all, to the lack of consistency in introducing modern technical equipment and to the slow and sluggish progress in eliminating existing technical shortcomings. Only two of the three radar installations worth a total of $9 million that were supplied in 1985 are used and only as of 1988. The third has not even been commissioned. Three radio direction finders that were imported from abroad proved incompatible with the new airport radar installations. The shortcomings discovered in the Cherni Vrukh radar installation, as early as in 1983, have not been removed. For this reason, precisely, some areas are not totally covered by radar and when the aircraft is heading in the direction of Sofia-Kalotina, there is no way of obtaining information on the flight altitude.

"Control over the distribution of manpower is also quite inefficient. In the Sofia area, flight commanders are not

using their annual leave and the same situation applies to the engineers," the investigation report reads.

Other problems affect the State Air Traffic Inspectorate. It is suffering from a shortage of trained cadres. Some employees' wages depend on the Balkan Airline Company enterprises. For this reason, the employees of the inspectorate often fly on business trips while they are neglecting their control functions.

Over the last two years, however, the inspectorate listed 326 conditions likely to cause air traffic accidents in the civil aviation system.

Labor disputes evoke tension between the representatives of the General Workers Committee of Flight Commanders and the Pilots Union of the Balkan Airline Company. The emergence of selfish group interests in a branch such as the civil airlines is an extremely alarming phenomenon, the State and People's Control Committee thinks. The committee expresses its concern about the persistent trend of accepting compromises and finding provisional and partial solutions.

The State and People's Control Committee leadership evaluates the work of the Ministry of Transportation leadership for the establishment of conditions likely to promote and improve the activities of the two specialized offices and organizations as unsatisfactory.

New Alternative Socialist Party Publication

AU1104092690 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian No. 8, 28 Mar 90 p 3

[Editorial note: "We Wish NACHALO a Successful Debut!"]

[Text] Yet another publication, called NACHALO [Beginning], has joined the family of the opposition press. It is published by the Alternative Socialist Party (ASP). In the article to its readers about its program, it is stated: "Like our party, NACHALO is a newspaper without a past, but one with a future."

We congratulate our colleagues on their first issue, as well as all readers who want to read honest, sincere, and well-written journalistic materials. NACHALO promises to give them an objective view and to introduce ethics into politics and dialogue.

The first issue contains an economic article by Ivan Ibrishimov entitled "Market Economy: Yes, but Which Kind?" The section with interesting photographic materials shows the first ASP congress and sets out the party's political principles. An entire page is devote to unpublished verses by poetess Blaga Dimitrova. Serious analysis of the facts is represented by two articles: "The 'True' Marx—With Love or Disgust?" by Docent Asen Davidov; and "Can We Copy the 'Ideal State'" by Scientific Fellow Valentin Georgiev, Candidate of Legal Sciences. Humor is not forgotten either, for on page 8 cartoons appear by Vlado Palankov, Racho Rachev, and Nikolay Pekarev, as well as many aphorisms and short essays.

Deu Corporation of Korea To Open Office

AU1004114390 Sofia BTA in English 0934 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 10 (BTA)—One of the leading Korean corporations, Daewoo, will open its representative office in Bulgaria. We will seek interests shared in common in shipbuilding, the heavy industry and the electronics, Mr. Kye Yong-Che, vice president of the corporation, told mass media journalists.

Cooperation with different Bulgarian firms will include the exchange of scientific results and information and the promotion of industrial and trade activities. One of the major objects is setting up joint ventures, the production of which will satisfy some needs of the Bulgarian market and will try to make a breakthrough in the Asian countries. In a more distant future it is envisaged to market the production in third countries.

Investments in Bulgarian industrial enterprises will be encouraged and mutual guarantees will be sought for their rational utilization. An agreement was reached on granting long-term credits in the future for stimulating the formation of industrial cooperatives.

20 Soviet Helicopters Leave for Home

LD0904185990 Prague CTK in English 1829 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Bratislava April 9 (CTK)—Twenty Soviet Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters left Sliac, central Slovakia for the USSR today. They belonged to the helicopter unit of the Soviet Army stationed at Olomouc, north Moravia, which made a stop-over at the Sliac airport on their way home last Wednesday. Another 42 helicopters from the same unit are scheduled to leave for home tomorrow.

First Soviet Troops Leave East Bohemia Region

LD1004114590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] The first Soviet Army units are leaving the East Bohemian Region. Our correspondent, Premysl Sramek, phones in this report from Hradec Kralove:

[Sramek] A special train is leaving Kraliky station in Usti nad Orlici District today. Its destination is the transloading station at Cierna nad Tisou near Cop. The train has been loaded with mainly small items of military equipment and the furniture of Soviet officers' families based in Cervena Voda. They are vacating a total of 73 apartments, which will enable the local National Committee to house all those currently on its waiting list for apartments. Interest in the other buildings is being shown by a number of different organizations, and they are expected to be used as warehouses, among other things.

A complete unit of chemical troops has already left Cervena Voda, heading east. The remaining 500-or-so troops and their equipment are scheduled to follow them this Friday, 13 April. That certainly will be a happy day for the people of this corner of East Bohemia.

Dubcek Receives Soviet Envoy

LD1004211190 Prague CTK in English 1640 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 10 (CTK)—Alexander Dubcek, Czechoslovak Federal Assembly chairman, received Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Viktor Lomakin here today.

The Soviet ambassador confirmed the invitation of a Czechoslovak Federal Assembly delegation by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The invitation was accepted and the date of the visit will be agreed on in a diplomatic way.

Dubcek Calls for Closer Ties With Iran

LD0904193190 Tehran IRNA in English 1640 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Tehran, April 9, IRNA—In a meeting with Speaker of the Federal Parliament of Czechoslovakia Alexander Dubcek in Prague Monday Iranian Ambassador Hamid Reza Hoseyni hailed the struggle of the people of that country for attaining national independence. He said that the developments in Eastern Europe have a great significance.

The Czech official in response said that the new developments in the Eastern bloc are in favor of closer relations between Iran and Czechoslovakia. He added that in his opinion Iran and his country should cast their new relations consistent with the realities of the day.

Dubcek also called for closer relations between the two countries in diplomatic, cultural and industrial areas.

Hungarian 'Aggressiveness,' 'Nationalism' Decried

AU1104085890

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 3 April carries several items dealing with the state of Slovak-Hungarian relations and criticizing what is perceived as Hungarian "aggressiveness" and "nationalism."

On page 1, VEREJNOST carries a 400-word Igor Krajan commentary entitled "Voice From a Sinking Ship." The commentary takes issue with Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn's "categorical demand that either the approaching conference of ministers of foreign affairs of Central European countries will deal with the position of the Hungarian minority in the neighboring countries—and, in this context, mainly in Slovakia—or the Hungarian Government will have to reconsider its participation in the conference." The author sees Horn's remarks (the date and place of which are not given) within the context of the Hungarian election campaign and the Hungarian Socialist Party's betting on the nationalist card. Krajan agrees with Horn in that the situation of the Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary should figure on the agenda of the Bratislava conference but adds that, in this case, "the question of the Slovak minority in the Hungarian Republic should be raised as well. We will be delighted to watch in whose favor the scales will tilt when the implementation of ethnic minorities' rights in Hungary and in Slovakia is weighed up." In conclusion, Krajan observes that, in view of the Hungarian election results, Horn's days as foreign minister are numbered, which is why "it will take some time before we can conduct serious talks with Hungarian Government partners about all matters of common interest."

In the same issue, on page 4, VEREJNOST carries a 1,500-word interview with Viliam Gruska, newly elected chairman of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation (Matica Slovenska), by Sandra Svardova and Dano Borsky, entitled "Strong Feeling of Ethnicity." The interview, the date and place of which are not given, deals with Gruska's views on current Slovak-Hungarian relations.

Speaking about the interethnic situation in southern Slovakia, Gruska notes the existence of a strong "Magyarization" there. He attributes it to the fact that a large number of Slovaks living in this part of Slovakia were repatriated from Hungary after World War II. Because

they spoke both languages and because of the "witch-hunt against Slovak bourgeois nationalists" in the fifties, these Slovaks "registered as Hungarians in an attempt to save their skin," according to Gruska. Gruska sees another reason for the "Magyarization" of this part of Slovakia in the formerly practiced policy of village mergers and the formation of "core villages": "When seven villages were merged, six of which were Hungarian and one Slovak, the core village was Hungarian. The physician and the whole infrastructure was there. The consequences are not difficult to imagine."

Next, Gruska is asked to comment on the situation of Slovaks in Hungary. He says that, unlike members of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, members of the Slovak minority in Hungary cannot air their grievances in the country's media but only in their own press. He also gives an account of his own "bad experience" with the Hungarian media: "When a reporter from the Hungarian 'Panorama' program asked me whether I thought that Slovaks in southern Slovakia were a minority within a minority, he did not include my reply on the program. Instead, they quoted something which I said somewhere about education, and even that was taken out of context. On top of that, they referred to me as chairman of the nationalist Slovak National Heritage Foundation. No one has managed to say such a thing before because, throughout the organization's history, from Moyzes up to Novomesky, representatives of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation were Central Europeans in their outlook."

Returning to the issue of Slovaks in Hungary, Gruska says: "A census has just been held there. Large numbers of Slovaks registered as Hungarians out of fear of repressive actions. Besides, the promise had been made to all minorities that the census commissions in ethnically mixed parts of the country would include at least one minority representative. However, the directive for carrying out the census ruled this out. The state of care for Slovaks in Hungary is at the zero point. Even at schools designated as Slovak, the Slovak language has been taught as an optional subject only for the past 12 years. This is apparently the reason why the Public Against Violence movement and the Hungarian Independent Initiative are opposed to reciprocity [between the treatment of Hungarians in Slovakia and Slovaks in Hungary]. At a meeting with the consul general of the Hungarian Republic, I asked about his opinion on reciprocity. He, too, is opposed."

Gruska goes on to criticize Hungarian publishers for publishing maps of Austria-Hungary "where the borders of Slovakia are missing" and Hungarian textbooks for ignoring the existence of the Slav Great Moravian Empire on the territory of present-day Slovakia and for referring to Slovaks as "some unknown tribe from somewhere in the Urals which settled in this territory at some point in the 14th century."

Finally, Gruska is asked about his opinion on the joint statements of the Public Against Violence movement and the Hungarian Independent Initiative on the settlement of Slovak-Hungarian disputes. He says that "the deeds of individuals from the Hungarian Independent Initiative—for example, those of Mr. Duray—are at odds with these proclamations. Mr. Duray is stirring up hysteria among Hungarians by dividing them into pure and unpure ones and by attacking and denouncing mixed marriages, claiming that they destroy the Hungarian nation. I have been briefed in detail on Hungarian meetings at which an almost fascist attitude is practiced toward members of their own nationality. Some people with Slovak wives are being accused of having defiled the race. This is really absurd and could provoke uncontrollable reactions within the minority." Gruska also contests the claim made by Miklos Duray in his writings about Slovaks having done wrong to the Hungarian minority, suggesting that it was the "totalitarian power" which did damage to both Slovaks and Hungarians.

In the same issue, on pages 4 and 5, VEREJNOST carries a 1,200-word article by Sandra Svardova entitled "Voices of Slovaks From the South." In her article, the author interviews Slovaks from two ethnically mixed villages in Komarno District (Srobarova and Marcelova) on the coexistence between Slovaks and Hungarians there. All their statements are critical of what is perceived as the Slovaks' discrimination.

J. Kaduch from Srobarova, for instance, criticizes the plan to set up a Hungarian university in Komarno. He says that while Slovaks in Komarno have been waiting for a new Slovak primary school for 10 years, "the finances and capacities for a Hungarian university seem to have been found in no time." As Kaduch points out, Slovak children in Komarno are currently taught in makeshift facilities, in two shifts, in classes that often have as many as 40 children. Most of the other complaints also concern education. Svardova says: "There are two secondary agricultural schools in the area: at Kravany nad Dunajom and at Hadovice, both of which are Hungarian. The one Slovak class at Kravany is a ridiculous compromise because the native language of the teachers differs from that of the students. There are villages without a Slovak kindergarten. The situation arises in which a child whose mother does not speak even one word of Hungarian forgets Slovak words after half a year. There has even been a case of a mother who had to send her child into a Hungarian kindergarten under the threat of losing her job. Even children of school age are not spared similar practices. At Marcelova, almost 200 children applied for the first grade of the Slovak primary school. When the day of registration came, only 14 turned up. Tireless agitators accomplished what they wanted."

Other interview partners complain that some Slovak-trained Hungarian engineers demand the translation of blueprints and forms into Hungarian, that customers who speak Slovak are not served in local shops, or that Slovak job applicants are turned down because they do not speak Hungarian. Slovak villages are also said to be at a disadvantage when it comes to the distribution of investment funds. As the author points out, the residents

of Srobarova, which has a Slovak majority, must still fetch water from wells, whereas the surrounding Hungarian villages all have tap water.

Minister on Employment of Foreign Workers

LD0904191990 Prague CTK in English 1454 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 9 (CTK)—Some 45,000 foreign workers, including 5,300 from Cuba, are employed in Czechoslovakia at present. It is expected that at the request of the Cuban side, which Czechoslovakia fully respects, there will be no Cuban workers employed in Czechoslovakia by the end of the year, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Petr Miller said at a press conference here today.

There are also Poles and Hungarians working in the country's border areas. Their work in Czechoslovakia is based on a long tradition and this form of employment with the daily crossing of the borders should be preserved in the future, he stressed.

The number of Vietnamese and Cuban workers will be reduced soon and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs intends to propose the cancellation of the validity of the inter-governmental agreements on foreign workers. "These intentions are purely economic and have nothing to do with racial or political reasons", Petr Miller underlined.

Vietnam Notes CSFR Decision on Workers

LD1104020490 Prague CTK in English 1915 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Hanoi April 10 (CTK correspondent)—Vietnam has incomplete information about Czechoslovakia's decision to send Vietnamese workers back home as the Czechoslovak Government has not yet submitted the issue of cancelling the corresponding agreement, a spokesman for the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry told CTK here today.

Representative of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs Milos Brunclik said in Prague on Friday that Czechoslovakia has suspended the arrival of further Vietnamese workers and that 37,000 Vietnamese citizens working in Czechoslovakia at present will be sent home by the end of 1995. "Acceleration" of their departure was not ruled out.

Czechoslovak Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Petr Miller said on Monday inter alia that the ministry is considering the cancellation of the validity of Czechoslovakia's governmental agreement with some countries, including Vietnam, about the employment of their workers.

Spokesman Says CPCZ Lived Off National Budget

AU1004141090 Paris AFP in English 1359 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Prague, April 10 (AFP)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party creamed some 280 million dollars a year off the health and education, and other national budgets, when it was in power, a spokesman for President Vaclav Havel said here Tuesday [10 April].

The party spent more than six billion crowns annually (about 380 million dollars at the official rate) when it was in power, of which 4.5 billion crowns (280 million dollars) came from the national budget, spokesman Michael Zantovsky said.

He said Mr. Havel was "following with interest and sometimes amusement" the row over assets of the Communist Party since the figures available to him were much higher than those mentioned officially by party leaders.

Membership fees raised only 1.2 billion crowns annually, and annual income from companies belonging to the party, notably publishing houses, totalled no more than 300 million crowns, he said.

A large part of party expenditure was covered by the national budget, by means of an official subsidy of 1.2 billion crowns, and in part at the expense of other budgets, notably for administration, defence, security, education, culture and health services.

But the 4.5 billion crowns taken yearly from the national budget did not include financial aid by the party to communist parties in the West and in the Third World, nor did it include aid to the "armed elements of several revolutionary movements", he said.

Mr. Zantovsky said that investment in various party buildings and companies totalled 13.6 billion crowns (850 million dollars) since 1972, or more than 750 million crowns per year.

For several weeks the party's assets have been the subject of controversy between party officials and public opinion, and between the party paper RUDE PRAVO and the rest of the press.

A 10-minute general strike has been called at several companies on Wednesday to demand that the Communist Party return to the state assets accumulated during 40 years. The aim is to put it on an equal footing with other parties ahead of the counry's first free elections, scheduled for June 8 and 9.

News Conference on CPCZ Property

LD0904192390 Prague CTK in English 1448 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 9 (CTK)—We are to solve the question of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's property in harmony with valid laws, and so as not to provoke

confrontations, Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee secretary Ondrej Saling stressed at a press conference here today.

However, sometimes we cannot avoid the impression that not only the Czechoslovak Communist Party's property, but also its very legal existence is put in doubt, Ondrej Saling added.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party wants its property to be judged by an impartial body so that the perhaps justified suspicion of the information given by the party's bodies on the property be overcome, he said.

Petr Rosecky, the party's Central Committee Economic Department head said that the Czechoslovak People's Control Committee's commission started at the party Central Committee's seat in Prague today investigating the ways in which the party used the financial resources obtained from the state budget for capital construction.

Petr Rosecky said at the press conference that since 1972, the Czechoslovak state has given to the Czechoslovak Communist Party some 3,721,572,000 crowns assigned for capital construction. The principal means in possession of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (inmovables, cars, equipment, etc.) amounted, by December 31 last, to 1,591,197,000 crowns.

The party has handed over to the Czechoslovak state property worth 242,122,000 crowns which means that the present party's property amounts to 1,349,075,000 crowns.

Bratislava's Cic on Meeting With Pithart

LD1004122290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] For the first time in the history of our federation, the governments of Czech and Slovak republics are due to meet for joint talks in less than one hour in Lnare Castle, 100 km from Prague. In this connection Alica Bielikova, editor, asked Slovak Premier Milan Cic for an interview this morning shortly before his departure for the airport.

[Begin recording] [Bielikova] Mr Premier, will you disclose to our listeners all that you are taking with you for this trip?

[Cic] With pleasure; I have already found out that the so-called reason for our meeting with the Czech Government is that problems, connected above all with the title of our republic, have allegedly arisen. This is not the issue, because Czech Premier Pithart and I agreed on this meeting a long time ago. We agreed that it is inevitable that all ministers should get to know one another and that we should discuss the things which concern both sides. We think that openness, an awareness of each other's problems, and personal acquaintance could also contribute to tackling certain tensions that arise as a result of the influence of, for example, such matters as the title of our common republic. Both of us—the Czech premier and I personally—will speak about our problems at this joint session. Afterwards, there will be talks between ministers, and we plan to draw up a joint conclusion from this meeting tomorrow, in the late afternoon. This could contribute to and promote our further cooperation.

[Bielikova] Is this also the answer to the question of what you would like to contribute now?

[Cic] I want improved relations, because I think and I am convinced that the two sides possess subjective prerequisites for developing these relations in the spirit of the principles which are in practice embodied in our Constitution and in the constitutional law of the Czechoslovak Federation. What we intend to do is to fill them with a new content and with a higher degree and quality of democracy. Mutual tolerance is also a part of this framework.

[Bielikova] Will yesterday's deliberations and all that happened in Bratislava also be reflected in this working meeting?

[Cic] That will undoubtedly be the case, because not only President Havel's speech but also the speeches of other presidents, premiers, and ministers of foreign affairs raised very many questions and problems that cannot be ignored, even if references to these questions and problems are not literally used in our terminology or if they are not included on our agenda. This meeting was important from the standpoint that practically all—even countries such as Austria or Italy—contributed ideas, thoughts, and objectives common to all of us. This is a very important action in an all-European context. [end recording]

Calfa Appoints Czech SR Defense Council

LD1004175590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Marian Calfa, chairman of the State Defense Council, in accordance with constitutional law, appointed the Defense Council of the Czech Socialist Republic [SR]. It has the following composition: Chairman: Petr Pihart, Czech premier; deputy chairman: Frantisek Vlasak, first deputy premier and chairman of the Czech Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development. Members: Antonin Hrazdira, first deputy premier and minister of the interior, Antonin Baudys, deputy premier, and (Vaclav Gruman), commander of the Western military district.

Petr Pithart, chairman of the Czech SR Defense Council, then appointed regional defense councils. Their chairmen have been entrusted, by the end of April, to appoint defense councils of districts. The new work system of the Defense Council, including personnel representation, stems from new social conditions, particularly from doing away with the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The public will be informed about the work of the Council.

Calfa Addresses Slovak TU Congress

LD1004144390 Prague CTK in English 1332 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Bratislava April 10 (CTK)—"Many of the misunderstandings concerning the government's cooperation with trade unions are owed to the youth of our democracy", Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said addressing the 1st congress of the Slovak Trade Unions here Tuesday.

He, however, stated his satisfaction at the current cooperation with trade union representatives despite some disputes ensuing from the above mentioned misunderstandings. He assured the participants that in implementing the radical changes in the economy the government considers social securities of the population.

He informed the delegates about the Czechoslovak Government's intentions in the social-economic field for the nearest future. Speaking about the government's price policy he underlined the government's aim not to allow social shocks in reducing state subsidies for certain kinds of goods. He stressed the active role of the labour market in market economy. "Our aim is to ensure effective employment. This, however, does not mean that transitions of a greater number of people from one branch, or an enterprise, to another bringing about structural or local unemployment, will not occur", Marian Calfa said, pointing to the fact that the Czechoslovak decree on releasing workers is comparable with the procedure in the most advanced countries with market economy.

Social problems are going to be under discussion in the whole society in the next few months. That was why the government adopted already on Sunday draft principles of a new social security organisation. "We want all questions which could stir social tension to be answered in time", Marian Calfa continued.

In the end the Czechoslovak premier expressed surprise at the attempts of some trade unions to gain immediate advantages for the members, and conviction that modern trade union organisations in a democratic society do not seek confrontation after each abolition of working opportunities.

"Trade unions are now at the crossroads - either to look for short-term advantages or to become wise protectors of the interests of their members", Marian Calfa emphasized.

TU's Demand Consultation on New Laws

AU0604124990 Prague PRACE in Czech 3 Apr 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Have the Trade Unions Been Forgotten?"]

[Text] Prague—The Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions General Council Presidium has emphatically protested against the submission and approval of the legal regulations that concern the fundamental interests of our country's working citizens. The Czechoslovak Federative Republic Government often submits to or prepares draft laws for the Federal Assembly without permitting the trade unions to express their opinion on them, or rather, it does not take their points of view into consideration. This involves, in particular, the law on citizens' association, which was approved by the Federal Assembly last week despite the fact that the trade unions pointed out in their statement beforehand that it was at variance with convention No. 87 of the International Labor Organization, a convention to which Czechoslovakia is bound.

The draft law on state enterprise submitted to parliament was also not discussed with the trade unions in this wording; this is apart from the fact that it abandons the principle of self- administration, which is unacceptable to the trade unions. The trade unions' points of view have been neglected in preparing the employment law and the law on health insurance; the amendments to the labor code were not discussed with the trade unions at all. We categorically reject attempts to disregard the trade unions' points of view.

The entire situation will be discussed in detail at a Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions General Council plenary session on 5 April 1990, which will make decisions on the adoption of further measures.

National Assets, Liabilities, Reserves Discussed

AU0904131990

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak and Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 5 April publish items dealing with Czechoslovakia's assets and liabilities abroad, with the state of the country's reserves, and with the development of deposits.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 5 April on pages 1 and 3 carries a 1,300-word interview with Vaclav Petricek, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission, by Bratislava PRAVDA correspondent Marta Csontosova. The interview, the date and place of which are not given, deals with Czechoslovakia's outstanding claims abroad. Petricek reveals that "at the end of last year, our claims abroad totaled $8.1 billion, with Libya, Syria, and Iraq being among the main debtors." Petricek says that even though Czechoslovakia has limited exports to these countries to prevent growth in these debts, he believes that not all of them will be recovered. According to the State Planning Commission official, the Czechoslovak State Bank, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade estimate that "claims which will be hard to recover represent more than 30 percent of our total claims abroad." Petricek suggests that Czechoslovakia should act more "forcefully" to recover these "frozen assets," which could include the sale of these debts to foreign customers.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 5 April on page 12 carries a 300- word CTK report on a news conference with officials of the Slovak State Savings Bank held in Bratislava on 4 April. According to the report, residents of Slovakia had deposited a total of 89,992 billion korunas

with branches of the Slovak State Savings Bank at the end of last year, 5.8 percent more than at the same time a year earlier. The increase was smaller than expected because the Slovaks' expenditures grew faster in 1989 (by 3.6 percent) than their revenues (3.4 percent).

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 5 April on page 2 carries a 500- word "vm"-signed report on a news conference with Josef Tosovsky, chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, held in Prague on 4 April. Tosovsky is quoted as having said that Czechoslovakia's gross indebtedness declined from $7.9 billion at the end of 1989 to $7.3 billion at the end of February this year. The Czechoslovak State Bank will continue its "very cautious approach toward assuming foreign loans," according to Tosovsky, so as not to jeopardize the government's anti-inflationary policy. The bank official is also said to have "thrown light" on the Czechoslovak State Bank's reserves: "According to J. Tosovsky, the Czechoslovak State Bank has reserves of $750,000 million, plus 80 tonnes of gold. Our republic's assets also include 38 billion korunas of accounting surplus with socialist states and 3.5 billion korunas of accounting surplus with 'the rest' of the world." Finally, according to the MLADA FRONTA report, Tosovsky also stated that the Czechoslovak State Bank estimates inflation in Czechoslovakia to be running at between 3 and 4 percent, compared with the official figure of 1.7 percent, and announced that interest rates on savings (which average 3 percent at present) will soon go up.

17 Groups Register for Assembly Elections

LD0904210190 Prague CTK in English 2008 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 9 (CTK)—Seventeen parties, movements and coalitions have registered for the elections to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, due on June 8-9. The term for registration expires at midnight today.

This, however, does not mean that future deputies will be chosen from just these 17 lists which will still be checked by election commissions.

According to unofficial information, applications for registration have been presented by the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum, Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Democratic Party, Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Christian and Democratic Union (consisting of Czechoslovak People's Party, Christian-Democratic Party and Christian-Democratic Movement), National Liberals, Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, Organization of Independent Romanians, Political Movement for Democracy and the Rights of National Minorities Coexistence-[words indistinct] together with the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, Political Grouping of Members of "Matica Slovenska" (Slovak cultural organization founded in 1863), Slovak National Party, Social Democracy (associating the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party and the Social-Democratic Party in Slovakia), Party of the Friends of Beer, Freedom Party, Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside (consisting of the Czechoslovak Farmers' Party, Czechoslovak Integration Party, Party of the Moravian Countryside, Republican Party of the Countryside, Movement for the Equal Position of Women in Bohemia and Moravia, Political Movement of Collective Farmers, Movement of Pensioners for Social Certainties, and National Civic Organization), Green Party, Gypsy Party (coalition), Free Bloc (Party of Constitutional Democracy, Party of Free Democrats, Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality and the Republican Union Movement), election grouping of interests in the Czech Republic, and the All-People's Democratic Party together with the Association for the Republic-The Republican Party of Czechoslovakia.

These parties, movements and their coalitions have applied for registration for elections either to both houses of the Federal Assembly and at the same time to the National Council, or only to some of these bodies.

Free Farmers Party To Form Coalition

AU0804192290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Apr 90 p 2

[CTK report: "A Free Farmers Party"]

[Text] Two hundred delegates, representing 5,780 party members, held discussions at the first Free Farmers Party congress in Prague on Saturday [31 March]. The party, which terms itself a right-of-center political force, will not participate in the elections independently, but is prepared to form a coalition bloc with the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Christian Democratic Party, and the Republican Party. Vladislav Hlavko was elected as the executive committee chairman.

New Women's Political Party Meets

LD0804104890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0200 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] The first meeting of members of the Women's and Mothers' Political party [politicka strana zen a matek] took place yesterday in Prague. The party seeks to fight against all laws which restrict women and to work for legislation which enables women to carry out their maternal and social roles in society. As the party is not yet registered, it will not take part in this year's elections, but, over the next two years, it will build up a strong organization which will operate throughout the country and comprehensively tackle the issue of women's living conditions.

Parties Criticize 'Biased' Media Reporting

LD0904083990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Czechoslovak Social Democracy, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Party discussed the unsatisfactory state of reporting in the state media. They state that

recently there has been a noticeable limitation on the extent of information and that reporting is too biased. They express their extreme dissatisfaction with the absolutely incomplete way in which reporting takes place in the state media, which thus discriminates against political parties, with the worst offender being Czechoslovak television. At the same time they express the conviction that full freedom of information demands reporting about parties and about their work to an extent which corresponds with the significance of political parties in a democratic society.

Foreign Service Broadcasts Suspended for 1 Month

AU0904122190 Prague PRACE in Czech 5 Apr 90 p 1

[Marie Klirova report: "And Prague Goes Silent..."]

[Excerpt] Czechoslovak Radio's foreign service has been broadcasting since 1936 without interruption. The only break in transmission was during the German occupation. Even in 1968, when the radio building was occupied, it continued to broadcast from Nusle. Now it will disappear from the airwaves for a month. Moreover, this comes at a time when the world is showing massive interest in Czechoslovakia, when we are in the run-up to the elections, and when there is a great deal of debate about nationality and other issues. Why?

"In no way do we want to disrupt broadcasts. On the contrary, we want to separate the ingloriously notorious former broadcasting period from our new foreign broadcasts," emphasized Dr. Frantisek Pavlicek, the central director of Czechoslovak Radio. Czechoslovak Radio's senior management, along with a collective of experts, will prepare new concepts during this month-long break. It is already clear that some of the countries to which we broadcast will be changed; this will mainly involve Africa and broadcasts in Arabic. Some of the staff in the editorial board will also be changed. Too many people here were closely associated with the former regime.

Therefore, all 311 employees have received a letter informing them that they will be laid off as of 1 April. Competitions will be held to fill the new vacancies. I discussed this situation with two long-serving employees. "We understand the motive behind this decision. Around 60 percent of the people who work in the foreign broadcast service should not be here. Some worked directly for State Security, others were fervent 'normalizers', some people were qualified professionals without morals and were capable of writing anything at the behest of anyone, and there were even people here, to put it mildly, who were not up to the job. They all clung on tooth and nail, and it was difficult, of course, to persuade them to leave." [passage omitted]

No New Premier, Government Before Easter

LD1104104290 Hamburg DPA in German 1012 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—The new GDR People's Chamber has altered its original plan and will not now elect a premier at its meeting tomorrow. People's Chamber Press Spokesman Bernhard Tschernig announced this to the press today. The drafting of the government statement is not complete, it was said in explanation.

The new ministers will not be elected and sworn in until after Easter either, the spokesman declared. "When and how the premier and the Council of Ministers are to be elected is not yet known," he said. [passage omitted]

In explaining the postponement of the election, Tschernig said that the People's Chamber Presidium has not yet decided on the election method. It is still unclear whether the ministers are to be elected individually or whether a vote should be taken on the overall composition of the Council of Ministers. It is also unclear what procedure should be used to swear in the ministers. Tschernig said that the designated premier, Christian Democratic Union Chairman Lothar de Maiziere, would however present the government candidates this Thursday.

De Maiziere Election Expected 12 Apr

LD1104111190 Hamburg DPA in German 1029 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The Alliance, SPD [Social Democratic Party], and Liberals, who are together to form the new coalition government, continue to expect that the election of Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] will take place tomorrow at the People's Chamber meeting.

The announcement by the press spokesman of the People's Chamber, Bernhard Tschernig, was received with surprise and amazement. DSU [German Social Union] leader Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling and the SPD Chairman Markus Meckel explained, in response to enquiries, that they assumed that the prime minister and the ministers would be elected tomorrow as planned.

New Regulations for 6 May Local Elections

AU1004144690 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 7-8 Apr 90 p 1

[Harald Schulzendorf report: "Each Citizen Has Three Votes"]

[Text] East Berlin—At an international news conference in Berlin yesterday, Chairwoman Petra Blaess and other members of the Central Electoral Commission reported on essential changes in the election procedure for the local elections on 6 May as compared with the People's Chamber elections.

Each voter has three votes for the respective people's representative body, which he may give to one candidate or two or three candidates of one of more lists. With the exception of non-kreis cities, the voters receive two different voting slips, on which they vote by making a cross. As a result of the great number of lists and candidates that run for elections, the voting slips will be as large as a newspaper page. The citizens have to vote at their main place of residence. No absentee ballots will be issued, and there is also no possibility of voting by mail. Whoever is abroad on election day may not participate in the elections.

According to the Electoral Commission chairwoman, on the basis of the current interpretation of the legal stipulations, it is possible for one candidate to run for two people's representative bodies at different levels. In order to give this opportunity to all political groups and movements, the deadline for handing in election proposals has been extended until next Tuesday [10 April]. The local councils are ordered to notify the voters by 26 April.

Coalition Talks To Continue Beyond 10 Apr

LD1004183490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1654 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The parliamentary groups of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], the German Social Union, the Socialist Democratic Party, and the League of Free Democrats, today approved the results of the coalition negotiations thus far in terms of content and appointments. The talks are continuing this evening and, contrary to previous expectations, will evidently not be concluded today. [passage omitted]

The CDU presidium met this afternoon and called a special session of the party executive on the grand coalition and the formation of the government for tomorrow, press spokesman Helmut Lueck stated. At the same time, the CDU parliamentary group confirmed the results of the negotiations thus far and the planned cabinet list, Dr. Gerhard Pohl, the group's parliamentary business manager and economics minister designate, announced during an interval in the deliberations. He also stated that the ministry led by him will be supported by a committee of advisers under the chairmanship of Elmar Pieroth, which includes experts from both German states and is directly subordinate to the prime minister. Before the meeting of the parliamentary group, CDU General Secretary Kirchner answered a question by saying that there had been reservations right through the negotiating group in all parties "about whether we would be well advised to take a West German citizen into the cabinet as a minister". [passage omitted]

Talks Under Way

LD1004185290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1731 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The coalition talks on forming a new GDR Government continued this evening. The leaders of the three conservative Alliance parties, the Liberals, and the Social Democratic Party, met in the

House of Parliamentarians in Berlin shortly after 1900 for what is, in all, the seventh round of talks. They are carrying on with the discussion of important issues which remain open.

Before the start of this round, Lothar de Maiziere, the prime minister-designate, stated through a press spokesman that they would continue to work energetically on substantive issues. Publication of the cabinet list can no longer be expected today.

De Maiziere told the press at midday today that they still have to negotiate on the results of three of the total six equal working groups. The next topic up for debate is the sphere of the economy and agriculture. The text of the preamble to the coalition accord may also be a subject of discussion. [passage omitted]

Talks Continue

LD1104002290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1934 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The coalition talks on the formation of a new GDR Government continued this evening and were still in progress at 2130 [1930 GMT]. The leaders of the three conservative Alliance parties, the Liberals and the SPD [Social Democratic Party] met in the House of Parliamentarians in Berlin shortly after 1900 [1700 GMT] for what was, in total, the seventh round of talks. They discussed matters of substance that remained open. The parliamentary groups of the Christian Democratic Union and German Social Union, the SPD and the League of Free Democrats have approved the results of the coalition negotiations thus far in terms of content and appointments. [passage omitted]

Status of Coalition Talks, Negotiations Addressed

CDU Spokesman

LD1004164390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1516 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The CDU [Christian Democratic Union] legislative group approved on Tuesday [10 April] at its session in Berlin the results to date of the coalition negotiations between the Alliance parties, the League of Free Democrats, and the SPD [Social Democratic Party]. This was told to ADN this evening by CDU Press Spokesman Helmut Lueck. The group proposed the 52-year-old Dr. Gerhard Pohl as the future economics minister.

SPD Chairman Meckel

AU1004183890 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 6 Apr 90 p 13

[Interview with Acting SPD Chairman Markus Meckel by Bettina Urbanski; place and date not given: "The SPD on the Path Toward the Coalition and Unity"]

[Text] [Urbanski] The Social Democratic Party [SPD] now wants to arrive at German unity via Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law, with the integration of Article 146. This path will probably result in some difficulties of adjustment, if one just thinks of the differences in property and family law, or of Article 128....

[Meckel] For us, unification can be implemented only with the inclusion of Article 146 of the Basic Law, thus, with a new constitution at the end. However, this does not mean a completely new constitution, which one would have to invent first, but specific, limited changes and improvements of the Basic Law. In the past Article 23 has been interpreted very differently. Mostly in a way that one practically spoke of giving up sovereignty. Of course, we could not accept this in any case. I rather think of how Article 23 was used for the Saarland. Before accession to the FRG there were extensive negotiations and then transitional regulations for years. This must also be done here in any case. The specific changes in the Basic Law, which we want, will be included in the negotiations. This applies, above all, to safeguarding social rights, the rights of women, etc.

[Urbanski] In 1955, in addition to other protective measures, the Saarland had a customs frontier for five years. The damaged GDR economy also needs protection. How does the SPD intend to ensure this?

[Meckel] We want the monetary union at a 1:1 rate, but first only in the spheres that affect the people. In the industrial sector, on the other hand, transitional regulations are to permit industry to become competitive. Whether this is done through the setting down of customs or through certain currency exchange rates will have to be seen.

[Urbanski] How does one have to define the term social now and in the future?

[Meckel] The term social cannot be defined differently. The issues are the needs of the people, that is, housing and work, the fact that everyone is to be able to satisfy his needs sufficiently—in line with social prosperity. All this must be ensured also for the weakest members of the society. There will certainly be stronger social differentiations. The future society cannot be a general support system, which repeats the mistakes of the past and prevents efficiency. But where someone is not capable, it is necessary to protect him, to support him. This kind of solidarity society must be developed.

[Urbanski] Establishing this solidarity society is the main concern of the draft constitution presented by the roundtable. Do you see any chance at all for this draft?

[Meckel] We had to change the old Constitution at the very first People's Chamber session. Thus, it is not a constitution with which one can live. Therefore, we thought of changing it step by step. If this draft now permits us to say that the structure of the state, the structure of the laender, the basic rights, and some other things that we want are ensured, this is worth thinking about. The adoption of this draft, which is based on the Basic Law, should not be rejected from the outset as a

constitution for the transition period. On Tuesday evening [3 April], a consensus was reached with the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] on seriously studying this draft.

[Urbanski] Consensus with the CDU—not only here. Both parties seem to agree concerning social issues, among others. Are there still differences between social democrats and Christian democrats?

[Meckel] Concerning specific contents it is difficult to see clear differences from the very start. An important issue is the structure of the parties.

[Urbanski] So there are no differences in contents?

[Meckel] Not concerning the necessity of social safeguards. However, the direction of the talks gives rise to a "but." Mr. De Maiziere himself is very interested in social safeguards. Since no programs have been adopted yet, it is not clear to us how strongly this personal opinion will be put into practice in government work and how strong this position is in dealing with an FRG Government, which might perhaps plan other things. Enforcing this demand remains a central issue for us, and some binding things will have to be set down in this respect.

[Urbanski] One SPD election statement was: No coalition with the DSU [German Social Union]. Reality looks different. Do the GDR parties now approach their Western sisters also in the sense that they make election promises which are not kept afterwards?

[Meckel] We must distinguish between various things. After its behavior in the election campaign, we can hardly look on the DSU as a partner; the political differences also remain clear. DSU policy is directed from Munich, but we do not want the policy of the Christian Social Union. In addition, its program is spongy and does not say enough on specific problems. We are also sceptical concerning the question of policy toward foreigners. All this will now have to be cleared up in talks about the contents.

However, before the elections we thought that we would become the government party. And the Alliance said very clearly that it is only a platform for the elections, not a firm alliance. After the election there was the question of how we can pursue social democratic policy in our unfavorable position: Either by setting down the contents of a coalition in such a way that, for instance, certain views of the DSU are no longer effective, this would be very useful for this country: Or by saying in the opposition what we want, then one has a clear conscience but fewer chances to really make things better for this country.

Thus, much will depend on whether we will be able to fix the essential issues of our program. If not, we will withdraw. This is our dilemma.

[Urbanski] On 18 March the SPD was the loser. Have you taken any steps as a consequence?

[Meckel] We made some mistakes in the election campaign but not in the specific policy. Perhaps, without these mistakes we would have achieved three or five percent more. The people voted for the promises of Helmut Kohl, who, after all, heads the Bonn government. As one sees now, he does not keep his promises. We struggle to ensure his promises are kept.

[Urbanski] A last question—you are considered a representative of the center or of the right wing of the SPD. How do you see yourself?

[Meckel] If left means representing the interests of the people in a specific way, of building a just society of solidarity, I am left. If right means making democracy in the spirit of a really parliamentary system, perhaps, in the eyes of some people, I am right. For me this is rather a question of how democracy is understood and not of the social and political content as regards Europe and the world.

Liberals Approve Talks

LD1004184190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1724 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Liberals' parliamentary group this afternoon approved the results of the coalition negotiations with the Alliance for Germany and the Social Democratic Party. As floor leader, Professor Dr. Rainer Ortleb told ADN there will still be negotiations in the evening on votes on the detail of the coalition agreement paper. That is a matter of thoroughness, not a question of differences. In his opinion, there are no longer any insurmountable obstacles to the formation of a grand coalition.

Krause Elected Chairman of CDU Floor Group

LD1004175790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1659 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Guenther Krause, until now the first deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] parliamentary group, was today elected chairman of the CDU People's Chamber floor group. He is replacing Dr. Lothar de Maiziere, who is a candidate for prime minister.

Krause received the votes of 100 out of 135 deputies. The other votes went to a second candidate.

Vogel Describes Prisoner Deals With FRG

AU1104074690 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 9 Apr pp 61-73

[Interview with lawyer Wolfgang Vogel by Ulrich Schwarz and Georg Boenisch in East Berlin; date not given: "I Would Have Sided with the Devil"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Vogel, according to accusations brought forward by East Berlin, buying the freedom of East German prisoners with Western money

was not just a good deal for the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] regime. Even West German politicians are said to have made money through it. Is there any truth in this?

[Vogel] Well, I think that this is a false report. From my own experience I know that nothing can be true in this. No money was shifted at all when those people were bought out. Bonn used to pay in goods. One would have to bribe people with oranges. Yet, who is interested in oranges in the West. Besides, such payments do not make any sense at all. Why? What for?

[DER SPIEGEL] In 1986 a former high-ranking official of the Bonn land court was sentenced to three and a half years' imprisonment, on the charge of having used at least three million marks for his own purposes in his capacity as the official responsible for purchasing out prisoners. Is it possible that the East Berlin Citizens' Committee has based its accusations on this?

[Vogel] They must have mixed up a few things. Hardly anybody knew how these purchases worked. There are most fantastic concepts of lawyers crossing the border with bags of money, and other similar stories. Only now can one talk about the truth.

[DER SPIEGEL] How did the deals swapping people from the East for goods from the West really take place?

[Vogel] Until the 1987 amnesty, the prisoners were taken to the border in buses. The first three buses with a total of 70 political prisoners left the prison at Berlin-Rummelsburg on 14, 18, and 21 August via Wartha/Herleshausen for Giessen; the last bus left Karl-Marx-Stadt on 19 August 1987, shortly before Honecker's visit to Bonn. After the amnesty in the fall of 1987 we changed our strategy. Subsequently there were no more buses, but the clients were put into special train carriages in Karl-Marx-Stadt and taken to the central reception camp at Giessen.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who determined which people were to be purchased out from East German jails?

[Vogel] At the beginning it was mainly people who had to serve long terms, including prisoners with life sentences from the era of the cold war, members of the Militant Group Against Inhumanity, the Association of Liberal Jurists, members of the Eastern Office of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], and so on. Together with his State Secretary Krautwig, of the Inner-German Ministry, Principal Ludwig Rehlinger compiled these lists and passed them on to West Berlin lawyer Stange and to me. This was preceded by talks which I had to conduct on the instructions of GDR General State Prosecutor Josef Streit, with the then minister for all-German affairs, Erich Mende, in the Bundeshaus in West Berlin. Since my side thought that the discretion, on which the two sides had agreed, was violated because of various press reports, the release action for some 800 political prisoners was to be discontinued. The fact that it went on, was partly to the credit of Axel Springer.

[DER SPIEGEL] What about later, when the cold war was over?

[Vogel] The lists were agreed upon between the authorities in Bonn and Berlin. In some cases it took several years until a person was put on this list. We had a commission in the GDR that included employees of the Ministry for State Security, the Interior Ministry, and state prosecutors. If the name of a certain prisoner was crossed out, the lawyers in Bonn and us put him on the list again next time.

The pressure was exerted mainly by family members. My waiting room was filled with up to 100 people every day. Over the years, those that were convicted generally considered buying out as a way of leaving the GDR. Often they would ask immediately after sentence was passed: When will I be bought out?

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Vogel, how many people did you help to leave the GDR since 1964, and what is the overall balance, if one may use the word balance in connection with people at all?

[Vogel] This is a nice, human formulation. All those years I never knew what to say when people asked about the price. I was simply unable to cope with the term "price." I also had great difficulties with the term transport. This invariably created the idea of a cattle wagon. I always used the word bus journeys instead of transport.

I was unable to help anyone alone. It was a cooperation between officials and lawyers from East and West. The gentlemen of the Bundeshaus in West Berlin played a most decisive role in this context. Besides, there were not only the lawyers Stange and Vogel. Our colleagues in the Office for Legal Protection in the Inner-German Ministry did a great job in this connection.

[DER SPIEGEL] So what was the balance in plain figures?

[Vogel] Between 1964 and November 1989 a total of 33,000 political prisoners were bought out and permitted to go to the FRG. However, this was only one part of my work. I was also involved in 250,000 cases of reuniting families, and the exchange of agents between East and West. I remember some 150 cases of bilateral or multilateral exchange. To all this one must add the cases where citizens sought refuge in FRG diplomatic missions.

[DER SPIEGEL] The SED made use of purchasing out prisoners as a source of income that was most welcome. Whenever the GDR was running out of Western money for goods that it wanted, would it simply put more people into prison?

[Vogel] We have been asked this question many times. The judicial organs, who did not know anything of these purchases in most cases, would have to answer in the negative. One could never say what cases would be involved in the buying-out actions. This was only decided in the negotiations after the people were finally convicted. The Ministry for Inner-German Affairs alone

could decide what prisoners would be involved. State Secretary Walter Priesnitz, who succeeded Ludwig Rehlinger, paid particular attention to this, and made sure that only purely political cases would be involved.

Nevertheless, there were people who were set on being put into prison because they were hoping that in this way they would be bought out to the West more quickly. I defended many people who, after their application for emigration was rejected by the Interior Ministry for the 25th time, took their identity card and made their way to the border checkpoint at Friedrichstrasse where they stated that they wanted to get to the other side, and waited until they were arrested. In most cases it worked.

[DER SPIEGEL] Prison as hope—a sign for how much the citizens hated the SED regime.

[Vogel] As lawyers, we could feel this very closely. Whenever we pleaded for an administrative fine at court, our clients would confront us with serious accusations, because they wanted to go to prison. Our clients counted on this. However, I rule out the possibility that the judicial authorities, the judges, the state prosecutors, and the security people counted on the 96,000 Deutsche marks they would get from Bonn.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you also rule out that the SED's most important man for the acquisition of foreign currency, the head of the department of "Commercial Coordination" (Koko), Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, gave the following instruction: It is a hard winter and we badly need some coal. Go out and arrest 100 people?

[Vogel] This means that Schalck would have had to pick up the people himself. No, the suspicion of manipulation has not been confirmed. The Ministry for Inner-German Affairs also investigated this matter. You should ask them as well.

[DER SPIEGEL] What was Schalck-Golodkowski's role in these purchases?

[Vogel] He and his people were responsible for the financial side of the deal. Koko received the payment that was agreed upon from the Diakonisches Werk [charitable organization of the Protestant Church] in Stuttgart in the form of credits for trade agreements. I had nothing to do with the details of these deals.

[DER SPIEGEL] Still you knew about it?

[Vogel] Today I know more than I did at that time.

[DER SPIEGEL] What did Schalck buy for the vouchers he received from Bonn? Oil or certain precious metals, for example, which were in great demand in East Berlin?

[Vogel] Yes, he bought oil, industrial diamonds, copper, and also consumer goods.

[DER SPIEGEL] What, for instance?

[Vogel] Supply bottlenecks for the people were eliminated by the freedom-purchasing acts—at Christmas, for example. The first voucher in 1964 was used for oranges. After that, Stange and I were called the orange boys. Shortly before the change, the goods supplied were again tropical and subtropical fruit. The Federal Government always considered these supplies an additional inner justification of the freedom-purchasing acts. It was always said that in this way they helped the people in the GDR.

[DER SPIEGEL] Both large churches were involved in the freedom-purchasing acts. Why did the atheist SED regime use institutions that the comrades disliked?

[Vogel] It was the easiest way. The churches were discreet, not corrupt, and enjoyed respect on both sides. The churches had coordinated their actions. On behalf of Evangelical Bishop Scharf of Berlin, the West Berlin attorney Reymar von Wedel saw me on 21 June 1962. Actually, that was the moment when organized help for political prisoners was created. For the Catholic side, Prelate Johannes Zinke and his Caritas Director Heinz Thiel attended the meeting. We called Prelate Zinke black martin, because he always brought the lists under his habit.

[DER SPIEGEL] How much money did you as attorney make by the freedom-purchasing acts?

[Vogel] I will, of course, not show you my accounts. It would be a lie to say that I got nothing. To say that I made a lot of money would require an explanation, because my work as an attorney must be viewed as a whole. I was not only an attorney for these special tasks, which have, however, made me widely known and therefore brought me a lot of mandates from the whole world—not only criminal matters but also matters related to commercial law involving high values in disputes. But I received no money for negotiating freedom-purchasing acts, the exchange of prisoners, and family reunions. When I represented the interests of individual persons—and that was mostly the case—I was, of course, paid. How else should I maintain my practice with 20 staff members and an expensive office? The mass of the cases has earned me a large number of individual remunerations. That was legitimate.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your clients paid in East German marks. But you also earned West German marks. A Mercedes car is parked in front of your house....

[Vogel] .... Most of my mandates and thus also my individual remunerations came from the West.

[DER SPIEGEL] How did you get your job?

[Vogel] In 1962, Josef Streit, at the time a very close acquaintance and later a friend of mine, became attorney general of the GDR. His picture still hangs in my office, and it will continue to hang there. There was always a trusting relationship between Streit and myself. He was responsible on the GDR side for the spy swap of U.S. U-2 pilot Gary Powers for the Moscow spy Colonel Abel

who had been sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment in the United States, and he gave me the mandate to help him arrange the swap. That marked the beginning of my career in 1962. Streit had a very close relationship with Erich Honecker. This mandate explains the powers I was given later on.

[DER SPIEGEL] As of 1977, the value of purchasing a prisoner's freedom was precisely 95,847 Deutsche marks [DM]. How was this value of a human being computed?

[Vogel] I cannot help you in this respect. I always acted only as a go-between; I was never responsible for computations. That was done by budget experts on both sides. I have no explanation for this odd sum. Based on the ratio of a certain total sum for a list to the number of persons registered on this list, an individual amount had probably been computed which was then always used as a basis, and my side was never ready to go down.

One day, we had the sum of DM 96,000, and I remember one of the persons involved saying that this sum would have to be slightly changed so it did not look like a per capita price. So this odd sum may have come about in this way.

[DER SPIEGEL] The original price was DM47,000 ....

[Vogel] ... No, 40,000 ....

[DER SPIEGEL] ... That was valid until 1977. Then the price was more than doubled. Because of inflation?

[Vogel] Originally, there were graded computations. For those who received a high penalty or a life sentence, higher sums were computed. It was terrible to sit there and compute the sum that had to be paid for the term that a prisoner had still to serve; it was so businesslike. It was above all Rehlinger who said that this could not be continued, and that a global sum had to be agreed upon. Because a certain amount had to be added for those who had received a lower penalty, we agreed on an average figure.

[DER SPIEGEL] In the West, it was always said that the price was determined by the education. A doctor cost DM200,000, and a worker DM40,000.

[Vogel] That was never correct; it was always based on the penalty.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who invented this list?

[Vogel] I do not know; certainly not the attorneys.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did the SED leadership have any moral scruples against this man trade by the state? Did you have the impression that the Bonn politicians had any scruples?

[Vogel] The motives for the freedom-purchasing act were different on both sides. For the Federal Republic, it was humanitarian aid for people who had to suffer from the division. In addition, Bonn wanted to make the wall and the borders more penetrable. Until the change, there was no alternative to humanitarian aid through material contributions. There was no other option.

For the GDR, two considerations, which were possibly of equal importance, were decisive. First, a vent was required to ensure peace in the country and in particular on the border, because everybody who was imprisoned and did not make it to the West but had to come back, made another attempt to escape. Second, those who wielded power and had to assume responsibility for it, always considered the money as a compensation for education costs, notably for university graduates, and for the many skilled workers lost. What the state had invested, had to be paid back.

[DER SPIEGEL] You know Erich Honecker well. Did it never occur to the SED chief that dealing in prisoners could harm the GDR's international reputation?

[Vogel] No, I hardly ever had this impression with Honecker. Our diplomats and politicians traveling in the West always reported the contrary, saying that the other countries welcomed this humanitarian vent. Nor has there ever been negative comment in the Western media....

[DER SPIEGEL] ... Because nobody wanted to be blamed for having closed a loophole.

[Vogel] That is probably why nobody said a word to Honecker.

[DER SPIEGEL] Nonetheless, the freedom-purchasing acts brought the GDR the reputation of despising man.

[Vogel] This contempt applied to the fact that people were arrested and imprisoned for political reasons. That the West then tried to mitigate the misery, has never been criticized. One should think about whether the Basic Treaty would have come about in 1972, if there had been 3,000 or 4,000 political prisoners. In addition, without a way out for the clients, shots would have been fired much more often on the borders. They would never have given up their goal to go to the West.

[DER SPIEGEL] But the GDR sold its own children.

[Vogel] You will find no critical comment on that. Look it up in your files. On the contrary—Honecker was even supported by the large number of Western politicians who always submitted lists of cases that were particularly precarious from the humanitarian standpoint.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did the state council chairman feel flattered like an absolutist monarch?

[Vogel] No sooner had the visitors disappeared than a list was presented to my office. Finally, he told his partners in talks at the Leipzig Fair, for instance, that they should give their lists to me directly. By the way, in addition to Herbert Wehner, Social Democratic Party Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel was doing most in humanitarian cases. Oskar Lafontaine and Johannes Rau were also very helpful.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did private individuals also buy off people from the SED state?

[Vogel] Yes, in exceptional cases when help from the state was not possible. Then we lawyers had no other choice. For example, in the case of customs or currency offenses or mixed facts, as for example, fraud and the subsequent flight from the GDR. Then Bonn said that such persons will not be bought off. Bonn only took over political prisoners.

[DER SPIEGEL] In this case a private person paid money for this?

[Vogel] Yes, to a lawyer on the other side who transferred the money to me and I passed it on to the Koko.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are the sums per person identical with those officially paid by Bonn?

[Vogel] No, they differed, but I cannot provide any information on this, I am bound to silence by my clients.

[DER SPIEGEL] How many private cases did you handle?

[Vogel] Twenty, according to my estimates.

[DER SPIEGEL] And your authorities cooperated without hesitation?

[Vogel] It made no difference to them. The main point was that they got something in return.

[DER SPIEGEL] Were there more than 20 applications for buying private persons off?

[Vogel] There were more applications, but they were not always authorized.

[DER SPIEGEL] According to what criteria did East Berlin decide whether a person was permitted to go to the West in this way?

[Vogel] In the first place, the applications went through when somebody had connections. There were also cases in which the church was interested.

[DER SPIEGEL] Not only when people were bought off, but also when families were reunited, you had to rely on close cooperation with the State Security Service [Stasi]. How close were these contacts?

[Vogel] Negotiations and contacts were necessary, not only with the prosecutor general, the Interior Ministry, and the Foreign Ministry, but also with the departments of the Ministry for State Security responsible for the execution of sentences and departures from the country. The indispensable prerequisite for the exchange of spies was the personal agreement of Minister Mielke. Whoever wants to object to these contacts now should imagine not having anything that was achieved by these special efforts. I have not met a prisoner who would have refused to get on the so-called "miraculous bus" to Giessen. Later many talked contemptuously of trade in human beings.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did the Stasi never make you, like your colleague Wolfgang Schnur, the immoral offer to work permanently for it?

[Vogel] No, they did not do so, but they tried to wrest concessions from me for which I was unable to assume responsibility. Then I simply said no. I was able to stand my ground when my threshold of inhibitions was reached.

[DER SPIEGEL] Concessions of what kind?

[Vogel] For example, in the case of certain clients the Stasi let me know: "We would be pleased if this person were to slip off to the other side."

[DER SPIEGEL] For example, in the case of the songwriter Stephan Krawczyk, who was arrested in connection with the Rosa-Luxemburg demonstration in January 1988?

[Vogel] Yes. I said at that time: Only if a 100-percent guarantee is given—first, second, third—for the children to follow later, etcetera.

[DER SPIEGEL] Schnur's case cast a suspicion on all GDR lawyers. Are you not afraid that the shadow of the past will be cast upon you some day?

[Vogel] The legal profession was not suspected as a whole. I believe that it is becoming gradually possible to differentiate in public in this respect. First anybody who even walked past this ministry once was put into the corner. But now people are starting to differentiate. For the point is who had contacts, why, and for what purpose. As far as lawyers are concerned: for or against the client.

[DER SPIEGEL] Not all of your compatriots think along these lines. There have been calls for a probe into the past of all 400 People's Chamber deputies as to their possible involvement in Stasi activities.

[Vogel] Allegations have so far only been based on hints and reports by former members of the Ministry of State Security, who may not even have been members. The situation is very obscure.

[DER SPIEGEL] However, do you consider it right to clarify the accusations?

[Vogel] I think there is no other way. A person who has been accused of something must defend himself. He must reject unjustified allegations. However, there must be no reversal of the burden of proof and no condemnation of persons in advance.

[DER SPIEGEL] You have practically been deprived of the basis of your existence as a result of the changes. What does the lawyer Wolfgang Vogel do today?

[Vogel] I have been offered many mandates. However, I want to accept only the most interesting ones, and I plan to write a book on the work of lawyers during the time of the wall. I will be 65 soon. This is enough. What remains to be done? I will not find it difficult to retire.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would you do your job again if you had the choice?

[Vogel] I am now identified with the old regime because of my close relations with Erich Honecker. It is very painful for me that my work is being depreciated with such cliches. This is the truth. However, I can handle this if I take into consideration what has been achieved during the 36 years of my work as a lawyer in cooperation with my fellow fighters in the East and West.

If you ask me whether I would do the whole thing again, I can only answer: Yes, I would. If I had had no other choice, I would even have sided with the devil as long as I did not have to become one myself. To help those in need has always been my goal.

Draft Treaty Represents 'FRG Point of View'

AU1104095190 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Apr 90 p 2

[Gunter Pieper commentary: "A Draft Is Circulating"]

[Text] Yesterday a round of ministers and experts, headed by Chancellor Kohl, met in Bonn to deal with the latest hot intra-German topic, monetary union.

The participants in the conference had been given a draft for a state treaty with the GDR, which develops the FRG ideas for the introduction of economic, monetary, and social union. The paper proceeds from the premise that the GDR Government and the State Bank have to give up their sovereignty in all central areas of economic, monetary, financial, and social policy.

In line with this concept, the GDR should commit itself not only to taking over the essential currency laws, but also the tax law of the FRG and to make sure that it is adhered to. The German Bundesbank and the responsible FRG authorities are to be given the right to extend their authority to the GDR.

The exchange of GDR marks to Deutsche marks on a certain key date, which is not named specifically in this draft, is to be carried out via special exchange accounts at GDR banks. The savings of small savers are to be exchanged at a rate of 1:1 up to a limit of X. Savings that exceed this limit, as well as assets of legal persons or state institutions will be exchanged at a more unfavorable exchange rate.

Concerning the tax law, the draft orders the GDR to comprehensively take over the FRG tax law at the time of the introduction of economic and monetary union or by 1 January 1991 at the latest. The immediate taking over of this tax law upon the introduction of the Deutsche mark, is necessary in particular in respect of value-added tax, special consumption taxes (beer, spirits, coffee, tea, tobacco, etc), as well insurance tax.

As one can readily see, this draft has a clear concept, a concept from the FRG point of view. However, the past few days have clearly shown what heated protests in particular the planned exchange rate of GDR marks to Deutsche marks has caused. At least until now, little has been heard from the FRG that this concept contains ideas that have to be prepared for consensus in negotiations with the GDR.

Therefore, it is to be hoped, yes, to be demanded, that the new GDR Government will develop its own, equally clear concept for economic, monetary, and social union. This is the only way the interests of the GDR people can be preserved across all party borders and voters' potentials.

State Bank Directorate Statement on Exchange Rate

AU1104101390 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Apr 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Statement by the State Bank Directorate: An Enormous Difference in Income Even Now"]

[Text] As the GDR State Bank had to learn from the media, the Central Bank Council of the Bundesbank, in the presence of the FRG finance minister, decided in favor of recommending to the FRG Government an exchange rate of 2:1 for the introduction of the Deutsche mark in the GDR. In view of the situation thus created and the concern of the GDR citizens, the State Bank Directorate points out that in all expert and technical discussions so far the following position has been represented and substantiated:

1. Preserving the real value of the savings of the GDR citizens justifies an exchange at the rate of 1:1. This corresponds to the current purchasing power parity on the basis of calculations of the average consumption of a whole range of goods. This relation has also been determined by Western scientific institutes. The savings of the GDR citizens, which are anyway considerably more modest, are based on differentiated motives for saving, such as saving as a provision for old-age, for the acquisition of durable consumer goods, for the acquisition of spare parts and repairs, as well as for vacation trips.

We count cash, savings assets, and money in life insurance among the savings of the population, which so far have been the only form of investing money.

The general devaluation of savings which is envisaged by the Western side would involve for the overwhelming majority of the population intolerable social consequences.

It is conceivable that, in order to avoid an excessive stimulus in purchasing power, larger savings will be released gradually over an extended period of time.

2. The conversion of wages, salaries, and other income is acceptable only at a rate of 1:1. Another exchange rate can be justified neither in political, nor economic, nor social terms.

Even now the difference in income of GDR employees and FRG employees amounts to more than 50 percent, even when taking into account necessary individual compensation in case of the abolition of price subsidies

and other social allowances. This means, in practice there is already a relation of at least 2:1.

Any further reduction would strongly impede the work motivation in the GDR and unjustifiably reduce the real income.

Necessary income increases must be achieved via productivity growth and pension adjustment.

3. As a result of the difference in productivity, different conversion conditions are necessary for the conversion of loans and assets in the field of the economy. A potential conversion rate of 2:1 in this sphere must contribute to the competitiveness of the enterprises in connection with the necessary adjustments of production structures, cost reductions, and quality improvements.

The Directorate of the GDR State Bank will present the available detailed calculations and proposals to the future government as a recommendation for the continuation of negotiations and the conclusion of an international treaty.

FDP's Lambsdorff Wants 1:1 Rate for Savings

AU1104103190 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 7-8 Apr 90 p 1

["Exclusive" interview with FRG FDP Chairman Otto Count Lambsdorff by Bodo Rehboldt; place and date not given: "In Our View, Only 1:1 Is Possible for Savings"]

[Text] [Rehboldt] How do you assess the 2:1 proposal of the Bundesbank?

[Lambsdorff] This Bundesbank proposal is one of many. Of course, it comes from an important body, which we take seriously, and it will help to form opinion in the FRG Government and in the coalition. I am quite sure that the final agreements which we have to make with the GDR will look different from the Bundesbank proposal.

[Rehboldt] What are your ideas in this respect, as coalition partner in the FRG Government?

[Lambsdorff] My idea is that a discussion about wages and salaries and their conversion at a rate of 1:1, 1:1.5, or 1:3 is unreasonable. This does not correspond to the economic facts of a market economy system. Prices will be released upon the introduction of the economic reform. And wages are the price of work. Thus, new wage agreements must be negotiated in the enterprises between employees and management. They must have the goal that the people earn enough to live decently. And the enterprise must not have any greater burden of costs for personnel than it can bear without having to close down.

[Rehboldt] And what will happen to savings?

[Lambsdorff] The Free Democratic Party has always said 1:1—and no restriction to small savers. There is a difference of opinion among the Christian Democratic Union, the Christian Social Union, and us in this respect. This will have to be clarified.

[Rehboldt] Thus, there remains much uncertainty for the people in our country.

[Lambsdorff] I want to tell the GDR citizens that they should wait with calm and serenity for the further decisions and that there is no reason for gloom, worry, and fear. The GDR has an enormous opportunity to develop within a short period to become an economic area in which dynamism and growth dominate. There is every reason for optimism and confidence and not for fear and worry.

[Rehboldt] What is the basis of this optimism in your view?

[Lambsdorff] The experience which we had with the introduction of the market economy in the FRG after 1948 under much more difficult conditions than today in the GDR. At that time, there was no FRG—let me say this in quotation marks—that was able to help us. Now there exists this FRG, which must and will help the GDR.

The greatest capital the GDR possesses is its people, who are capable and willing to work. Because the people here are not lazier or more stupid and they are not less creative than our people in the FRG.

FRG's Bluem on Unity, Economic Development

AU1004151590 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 6 Apr 90 p 3

["Exclusive" article by FRG Labor Minister Norbert Bluem: "On the Path Toward Unity"]

[Text] Germany is on the path toward unity—politically, economically, and socially. An indispensable element of the economic community and monetary union is social unity.

In order for the people to see a future in their homeland, the most urgent social problems in the GDR have to be solved immediately. Economic reform and monetary union are the decisive steps toward improving the situation in the GDR. This includes ensuring the purchasing power of the wages and pensions, proving unemployed people with an appropriate compensation and professional qualification, and replacing welfare with a system of social care to ensure one's existence. The FRG Government is willing to offer specific financial and technical aid for this purpose, as well as strong start-up financing for new social security systems, in particular for unemployment and pension insurance. Assistance in improving health care in the GDR, which has already been started, will be further intensified.

We propose to establish in the GDR an unemployment insurance and labor administration like that in the FRG. This includes not only the payment of unemployment benefits but also an active labor market policy with vocational counseling, advanced training, retraining, and job creation measures.

Of course, we also need a social union, which not only ensures the standard of living of the pensioners, but improves their situation in concrete terms. The basic principles of our pension insurance, namely, are:

—links with wages and salaries,
—adjustment to the general standard of living [Lebensstandardisierung], should also be valid in the GDR so that pensioners do not become petitioners to the state. In order to ensure the standard of living for pensioners after a life full of work in the GDR, as in our country, pensions should amount to 70 percent of the net income of a comparable active person in the GDR after 45 years of paid up social insurance.

Important elements, which have to be established in the GDR for the new system, are:

—social partnership between independent trade unions and employers' associations, which decide on wages and working conditions with their autonomy in collective bargaining and replace the system of the state's setting down of wages, which is inimical to performance and inefficient;
—co-determination of employees' representatives in enterprise boards and the participation of freely elected shop stewards in enterprise decisions;
—introduction of comprehensive work and health protection for employees;
—establishment of labor and social courts with independent professional and honorary judges;
—an articulate and financially independent social insurance with independent self-administration.

There will certainly be temporary problems of adjustment as regards the transition to the market economy. However, the monetary union and the market economy make a second economic miracle on German soil possible. If the people in the GDR are freed from the straitjacket of the socialist planned economy, they will develop an enormous economic dynamism. The qualification and the willingness for performance of the people are good preconditions for the economic upswing.

A united, economically flourishing Germany is also a factor of political stability in Europe. As a reliable partner for its friends and neighbors, it will make an active contribution to peace in Europe and in the world.

Arrest Warrants Against Fleck, Ziegner Dropped

LD1004174290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1408 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Schwerin (ADN)—The arrest warrants against Rudi Fleck, former chairman of the Schwerin Bezirk [Area] Council, and Heinz Ziegner, former first secretary of the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany Bezirk organization, have been lifted by the First Criminal Division of the Bezirk Court with effect from 10 April, the Schwerin Bezirk Court announced on Tuesday. [passage omitted]

* Mass Graves Found Near Former Soviet Camp

90GE0033A East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 24-25 Mar 90 p 3

[Ottomar Harbauer report: "In Fuenfeichen Forest the Dead Do Not Remain Silent"]

[Text] We are walking across barren land. The scars of military training activity are evident in the terrain. It is starting to rain. The scenery looks even more dismal. Only the deciduous forest behind us will soon provide some cheerfulness in this area. In this very forest I saw gruesome things.

Next to me, Dieter Krueger, born in Mecklenburg judging by his accent, who is a scientific staff member at the Neubrandenburg Historical Museum, recounts:

"Yesterday we started to dig in the forest at the edge of the so-called Fuenfeichen meadow. We had some suspicions and now followed the advice of the former district forester and that of an old farmer: You'll find what you are looking for there. After a few hours we had the confirmation: mass graves. The forest is a graveyard. Two weeks ago, early March, we did not yet know anything about this place of horror."

Thousands Were Buried Under Trees

There is a mass cemetery thus far unknown, in a valley among bare trees at the edge of the city limits of Neubrandenburg. I saw skeletons placed next to one another, stacked one above the other in the sandy soil lying only a little more than one meter deep: corpses from the Fuenfeichen Soviet internment camp. Over four decades ago they were transported here by Polish fellow prisoners over the course of years and buried in mass graves. There are thousands. Foresters and farmers knew about it, but they remained silent.

"After 1945, internment camps did not exist solely in the Soviet Zone of Occupation," Dieter Krueger said, "Allied Control Commission Directive 38 of 12 October 1946 had legalized them. It was permissible to isolate persons who represented a security risk to the respective occupation power, probably also those who wanted to obstruct the democratic new beginnings in Germany. Hitler's SS and the Gestapo had covered the countries of Europe that had suffered a surprise attack and been occupied by the German Armed Forces with a network of death camps—now the pendulum swung back. In this connection the Soviet Zone of Occupation was hit especially hard. The Stalinist camp terror practiced here was equal to that of the fascists. The guilty and the innocent were equally affected. The NKVD, the USSR state security agency at that time, proceeded with great harshness and often without any clearly recognizable system."

Tens of thousands of men, women and children are said to have perished in the special camps established and maintained by the NKVD in the Soviet Zone of Occupation. West German publications estimate the number of victims at 65,000.

For simplicity's sake at the end of the war, former fascist concentration camps were immediately converted into internment camps. For example, the last prisoner of the Nazis had barely left Buchenwald when the first NKVD victims moved into the camp barracks. That was on 12 August 1945.

"Special Camp No. 9," Fuenfeichen near Neubrandenburg, was established for the Mecklenburg/Western Pomerania area. What I know about that I found out recently from the committed historian and also from survivors of Stalinist terror.

The Fuenfeichen camp had existed since April 1945. Here a large number of young people were interned in addition to SS people and police officers, Nazi party functionaries, teachers, former members of the German Armed Forces and other persons who had made themselves suspect in any way. Young men were detained on suspicion of having wanted to participate in the "Werwolf" organization in acts of sabotage against the Red Army. But the Nazi terrorist organization, established in the final weeks of the war, in principle existed only on paper in this area.

The Youngest Boy in the Camp Was 12 Years Old

The youngest boy in the camp was 12 years old, as former prisoner Guenter Arndt from Prenzlau reports. That was, as were the camp conditions, not unusual for Soviet conditions. At Stalin's suggestion a law had been adopted in the USSR as early as 1935 according to which even 12-year-olds were subject to criminal prosecution; they could even be sentenced to death. Most of the youngsters in Fuenfeichen were between 15 and 17 years old. Of course, educated in "loyalty to the Fuehrer," they were members of the Hitler Youth. But what "security interest" justified this brutal action against them?

There were no really "big fish" in the camp. And a considerable number of the detainees had no connection whatsoever with the group of persons described above. Many innocent people were caught in the whirlpool of the events. It happened quite often that people were picked up in the street solely to fill gaps in the document accompanying an incoming transport of prisoners. Unbelievable but documented. This opened the way to the arbitrariness of the guard units.

Then a Rash Word Was Enough

Then a rash word, possession of a prohibited object, a book, a simple Nazi symbol was enough to disappear into a special camp. An anti-Fascist who had barely been liberated from the Neuengamme concentration camp, was carried off to Fuenfeichen because he had dared protest the seizure of his house. He perished in Fuenfeichen. What the SS had not accomplished, the NKVD people did. But since there could not be what was not allowed to be, the death of the anti-Fascist was conveniently attributed to the Nazis.

As happened during the Nazi period, many people were picked up as a result of denunciations, including Communists and Social Democrats. People were used to denouncing others. And the NKVD hardly bothered checking up. It is only now that the fear is gone that many come forward and tell what happened to them then, branded as a "fascist" or a "class enemy." "It is terrible," Guenter Krueger said, "we depend very much on the reports of survivors; written documents of the NKVD are not accessible to us. But we know they exist."

After the closing of these special camps—Fuenfeichen in October 1948, Sachsenhausen, as the last one of the 11, in March 1950—everything was done to cover all traces. Prisoners who had really "done something wrong" were handed over to the German authorities and often given disproportionately high sentences. Many disappeared in an easterly direction never to reappear. All the records also went to the Soviet Union.

Whoever survived the Stalinist camps on German soil was pledged to silence. Those released were informed that they were not convicted, that they did not commit any criminal offenses. They were only taken in custody, they could leave now....

In the embellished image of the Soviet Union and the later GDR, only fascist terror was said to have taken place. There was no such thing as the Stalinist terror.

Death Did Not Ask About Guilt or Innocence

The living conditions in Fuenfeichen were hard. Except for a certain part, it was no labor camp, which in a way made the condition of the prisoners even worse. They were locked up like animals, slept packed together on bare plank beds; straw mattresses were not available until later on. Food at that time, not plentiful anyhow, consisted of sauerkraut and bread, three times a day, week after week, month after month. According to reports of survivors, the people were emaciated to skeletons, they looked like the prisoners of the Auschwitz and Dachau concentration camps. And died.

All transport work was performed by human labor. Prisoners were harnessed in front of heavy carts; to pull up the fully loaded cart along the then dirt road at the Fuenfeichen mountain was torture. Thus death reaped a rich harvest. Death did not ask whether a person was a "class enemy," man or woman, "guilty" or "innocent."

What is it that we have to ask in view of the new graves? Why reopen this doleful past?

It was fascist Germany that caused this disaster. That should never be forgotten. Without the surprise attack on the USSR the Soviet internment camps would never have existed on German soil. Historical truth demands that this fact be noted. Cause and effect must not be confused. Nevertheless: Inhumanity and arbitrariness are no less dreadful when they are ideologically veiled and politically justified. Stalinist terror, even though in

the name of a quite doubtful historical progress, nevertheless remains inhuman psychic and physical terror. That is the truth, too. And it must also come out. Only that way can new trust grow at a time when trust is deeply shaken by lies and withholding of the truth.

Our way across the "Fuenfeichen meadow" then led us to somewhat neglected grounds: memorial slabs, lined up, a memorial rising up high. We are at the cemetery of the former Fuenfeichen prisoner camp. Here members of armies from 10 countries were held prisoner during the war. But from 1945 to 1948 the NKVD tormented its victims in the same complex.

The Change Started the Ball Rolling

Was the adjoining National People's Army terrain the reason for the party and town leaders to lose interest in a cemetery that is publicly accessible (and perhaps even to foreigners)? At any rate, the facility established during 1958-61 became more and more dilapidated. When museum staff member Krueger, in addition to the concentration camp memorial which he had been looking after for a long time, started to be interested in this cemetery, his interest was met with deaf ears. But then the change occurred in the fall of 1989. The Neubrandenburg historian set up the citizens initiative "Fuenfeichen cemeteries." Cleaning up work was started, a flagged walk is to be put down. The local people said: If you are looking out for the dead of Fuenfeichen, please do not forget those from the time after 1945, Mr. Krueger.

That Is How The Ball Got Rolling

What other plans do you have, I asked. "Our goal is to restore the military cemetery and to establish a dignified memorial where you saw these gruesome mass graves of the Stalin terror. Perhaps we are going to put up a cross. At any rate it is to be a place of reflection. Flowers can be left there."

Yes, a place of reflection and reminder. At these graves, too. The dead do not rest.

German-Soviet Friendship Society Statement

LD1004174890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1235 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin, 10 Apr (ADN)—The statement of the German-Soviet Friendship Society Central Board reads as follows:

The members of the Central Board received with great consternation the news that mass graves had been found in connection with internment camps in the Soviet zone of occupation.

The Central Board resolutely calls for an analysis of the bitter legacy of Stalinism and demands that this dark chapter of postwar history be cleared up in full, particularly because in addition to Nazis and war criminals, innocent people were also interned for their political convictions or religious beliefs or simply following denunciations. In many cases they did not survive their detention in the camps.

The Central Board reminds the members of the German-Soviet Friendship Society and all citizens of our country to distinguish between the crimes committed by the members of the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] under Stalin's leadership on the one hand, and the costly struggle which claimed many victims among Soviets in the Red Army and people in the Soviet hinterland against Hitlerite fascism on the other hand. It is known that numerous Soviet citizens, also within the Red Army, were subject to reprisals themselves.

The practices in the internment camps in the Soviet occupied zone, although they must be condemned, are not a reason to forget the suffering and the achievements of the Soviet people in their struggle to crush Hitlerite fascism.

The Central Board asks all members of the German Soviet Friendship Society, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of our people from Hitlerite fascism, to also remember the innocent victims of Stalinist reprisals.

Radio Stations Meet To Consider Merger

LD1004220890 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1700 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] The staff of Deutschlandsender and Radio GDR 2 want to consider how a joint radio station could emerge from the two programs in future. It was stated at an initial meeting of the leading bodies that it should realize the whole breadth of society's cultural interests. This idea will be explored in future discussions.

The participants agreed that the personnel and social issue associated with the amalgamation could not be solved by the radio stations on their own. The GDR Radio management was thus urged to make a binding statement on their responsibility.

Sorb Daily Paper Now Available in German

LD1004214690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1343 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Bautzen (ADN)—NOWA DOBA, the daily paper for the Sorbs, is now appearing on Saturdays in German as well. [passage omitted] Initially, the paper can only be ordered via the editors. Address: Redaktion NOWA DOBA, Tuchmacherstrasse 27, Bautsen, 8600.

Electoral Committee Reviews Poll Objections

LD1004211290 Budapest MTI in English 1850 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 10 (MTI)—The main item on the agenda of the National Electoral Committee's Tuesday session was the examination and verification of the original copy of the registers from the 171 individual constituencies.

The session—at which Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth was also present for a short while—informed the body on the objections received so far: From Hajduhadhaz Teglas and Budapest's 11th constituency.

A committee member said he had been told of a further three potential objections. Most of these request invalid votes to be re-examined.

In order to meet its statutory obligations. The state office for vital statistics [SOVS] also prepared a report after the second round on the people who had voted with certificates.

They found there were several cases of people voting twice in places, including Budapest, Torokbalint, Fonyod and Szekszard.

In eleven cases, committees registered people who did not have the right to vote in the first place according to SOVS data.

The Interior Ministry's electoral office revealed there were major mistakes in the figures of three constituencies—the 10th in Bacs-Kiskun County, the 6th in Baranya county, and the 5th in Komarom-Esztergom county. More precisely, the mistakes occurred in the calculation of leftover votes. Correction of these mistakes may lead to some major modifications to the results.

Despite its wishes, the National Electoral Committee was not able to set the precise date for handing over the mandates to those candidates who had obtained seats in parliament, precisely because of the objections.

Nyers on Election Results, Prospects

AU1004152690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Apr 90 pp 1, 5

[Report on interview with Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Rezso Nyers by unidentified correspondent in Marcali on 5 April: "We Must Be a Pragmatic Opposition"]

[Text] Rezso Nyers participated in a political meeting in Marcali, in Somogy County, on 5 April. In this county, his party received most of the votes and finished in second place, behind the Smallholders Party. We interviewed Rezso Nyers on the eve of the second round of elections.

[Nyers] The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP—MSZP] did better in the first round than the preelection opinion polls had predicted. With the passing of time, the opinion polls predicted a gradual decrease in the number of votes; however, a stable camp of voters supported us. However, this number of votes will be enough only in relatively few individual voting districts for getting mandates. In the first round, there was an invisible election alliance among six or seven parties, an alliance aiming at forcing the HSP out of power. The second round shows that, despite the large number of parties that were running for the elections, the struggle has become bipolar.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is the greatest lesson you have drawn from the elections so far?

[Nyers] It is clear that the country needed these elections, but the situation has nevertheless become confused. I regard it as extremely positive that we can hold free elections, because we are for democracy. A great lesson is that Hungarian politics is still immature, and many people do not know whether they should vote for the past or the future: Past and future have become fatally mixed up. I think that, in quite a few cases, voting took place on the basis of looking at the past. It will be the task of historians to objectively evaluate the past, all the more so because some of the processes were hidden from the public.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In your view, could the second round be a surprise?

[Nyers] It would be a surprise for me if the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] outdistanced the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] in the number of mandates. At the same time, it would also be a surprise if the HSP outdistanced the Smallholders' Party. Nor do I think we could reach 10 percent in the number of individual mandates, the 10 percent we have achieved in the partial list, because the opposition formed an election alliance in places where we did well.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In the new Parliament, the HSP is preparing to play the role of opposition. What does this mean?

[Nyers] First, we must know the governing power and learn their intentions. In any case, we must be a pragmatic opposition. We will examine the draft bills submitted to the Parliament according to the extent these bills will suit the national interests as understood by the left wing. We will be extremely watchful primarily on economic issues. We will make sure that the change in the system does not modify the distribution of income to the detriment of the simple people. We will also see to it that public administration does not get in the jurisdiction of a single party, but it remains neutral from any party. In foreign policy issues, we will take a stand against extremist views. We will not join any parliamentary practices, because this would be unworthy of a socialist party.

Council of Europe Official on Elections

LD1004085690 Budapest MTI in English 0130 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Brussels/Strasbourg, April 10 (MTI)—The second round of the parliamentary elections have been termed as peaceful and fair by Catherine Lalumiere, general secretary of the Council of Europe, in a telephone interview to MTI's Brussels correspondent. The delegation of the council's Parliamentary General Assembly which attended the first round of the elections as observers, reported them to have been "free and fair" as well.

In answer to the question as to how the conducting of the elections influences Hungary's application for admittance in the council's ranks, M. Lalumiere said, "The Hungarian Government has already deposited its application and related procedures are due to be taken, unless Hungary's new government, decides otherwise."

During earlier discussions with leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, M. Lalumiere found the HDF [MDF] to be supporters of the idea of the country becoming a member of the Council of Europe. By the end of the year Hungary might well gain full membership in the organisation.

"I am very optimistic regarding future cooperation," the general secretary of the Council of Europe told MTI's correspondent.

Armed Forces Chief on Troop Redistribution

LD1004130190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Report on telephone interview with Hungarian Chief of Staff Laszlo Borsits by station correspondent Janos Hollos; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Chief of Staff Major General Laszlo Borsits recently stated to THE WASHINGTON POST that in Hungary certain divisions will be moved from the western to the eastern side of the country. This is part of the formulation of a defense force focusing on national defense. We asked the chief of staff about this question, who stressed repeatedly that it is not a question of regrouping, and that it is not directed against anyone. The movement of troops is connected with a reduction in the length of military service. Our reporter Janos Hollos talked to Laszlo Borsits on the telephone.

[Begin recording] [Borsits] There is no question of the regrouping of units, but simultaneously with the changeover to the 12 month military service, which we announced last year, we would like to ensure that two-thirds of our forces should be called up within a range of 100-150 km. This means we call up our conscripts in line with this regional division, and that this call-up policy is not directed against anybody. We are changing the proportion of military personnel occupying the barracks on the eastern side of the country.

[Hollos] What does this mean in practice? That until now the units were in excess on the western border and now they are being distributed evenly?

[Borsits] Considering the region of Trans-Danubia, the better prepared units were in excess, and those on the east from the Danube were fewer. This will now mean a more or less identical distribution. [end recording]

Police Force Detached From Interior Ministry

LD1004130990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Detached yes, independent, however, not yet: The police force is becoming detached from the Interior Ministry. A news conference was held at the National Police Headquarters on the proposed organizational changes. Hungarian radio was represented by Eva Sos:

[Begin Sos recording] With the reorganization of the police, the National Police Force will operate as an independent national organization, so thus becomes detached from the Interior Ministry, stated Andras Turos, national chief of police. The most important change is that in future, the main task of the police will be crime detection. After the reorganization, the interior minister can not interfere with the day-to-day work of the police. He will retain only the legislative and control functions, and the setting of the annual budget. However, the minister will continue to appoint the national chief of police and his deputy, which met the displeasure of police leaders who were present. In Western countries this is the perogative of the president.

Within the jurisdiction of the chief of police is control of the approximately 2,000-man Police Regiment and of the Airport Security Directorate, and also the coordination of the work of county police. The deputy of the chief of police will be responsible for the work of the investigative, criminal, traffic and registration divisions, for example, the new drugs division.

In the future, the public order and traffic divisions will be separate, since, especially because of the planned World Expo, the traffic police will need to regain their authority.

In the criminal division, the military ranks are likely to be abolished, and old titles will be reestablished, such as supervisors, supervisory advisers.

Custodial rules will also change. The new principle will be that custodial sentences must not to be punitive and retributive. Therefore there will be more rights for those in custody, such as uncontrolled meetings with defense lawyers, the right to keep radios, television, and personal effects while in custody. [end recording]

MDF's Szucs Interviewed on Presidium Meeting

LD1004115490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] The Presidium of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum], victorious at the elections, is meeting behind closed doors. From the Bem Square headquarters of the MDF, our colleague Tibor Hollauer reports. He is talking to Istvan Szucs, a member of the MDF Presidium.

[Begin recording] [Szucs] We consider that victory in the second round can not be regarded as final, either for the Democratic Forum or for the country. The final destruction of the communist system will only be completed, in our view, when in every village and town of the country we can complete the local authority elections, which will finally wipe out the old dictatorial system.

[Hollauer] In connection with the coalition negotiations, or rather about the forming of a government, were there some definite agreements, conclusions, plans? I am thinking about by when the new government will have to be formed.

[Szucs] We think that the latest date would be 7 or 8 May for the calling together of the parliament; following this in parliament there will have to be elections for the speaker, deputy speakers, the father of the house.

[Hollauer] Do you have candidates?

[Szucs] Yes, yes of course we have. The chairman of the parliamentary group of the MDF will very likely be Dr. Jozsef Antall, our chairman.

[Hollauer] Whom do you recommend for the post of speaker?

[Szucs] No such proposal has yet been made. On the other hand, the position of the father of the house was discussed. We think this will be the MDF Member of Parliament, Kalman Keri, who is 90 years old.

[Hollauer] Were there any discussions on the composition of the government; what posts the MDF is willing to share; or whom they recommend for various ministerial posts?

[Szucs] Such negotiations are being carried out, but these were not yet considered by the presidium. As this is only Tuesday, we only started to get a clear view yesterday. The presidium is now asking for authorization—which it are likely to get—to carry out these coalition and government-forming negotiations. [end recording]

MDF Economic Expert Interviewed on Economy

LD1104020690 Budapest MTI in English 1908 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Tokyo, April 10 (MTI)—"The Hungarian Democratic Forum's [HDF—MDF] economic goal is to bring about a social market economy, since radical Thatcherism is not feasible in a country where four million people live under the subsistence level," said Istvan Bethlen, the HDF's leading economic expert, in an interview to the Japanese daily YOMIURYI SHIMBUN.

Mr Bethlen, whom the Japanese daily is tipping as finance minister in the new government, said that the model for this social market economy was the system adopted by the FRG in 1948.

This system could exert a major influence on the distribution of resources and the generation of the national income, while also looking after the poor.

Answering a question on turning around the Hungarian economy, Mr Bethlen said five years would not be enough to push back the 90-per-cent share of state ownership to 30.

Speaking on future relations with the Soviet Union, he said after the completion of the Soviet troops withdrawal—which would bring Hungary full sovereignty—the country would be a faithful partner of the Soviet Union. It would deliver industrial products in exchange for energy. On the basis of sovereignty and equality, the two countries could cooperate, guided by mutual interests.

"The four-decade economic cooperation with the Soviet Union has been a source of valuable knowledge and experience," said Mr Bethlen, pointing out that having these, Hungary would be able to play the role of a bridge between the Soviet Union and Western Europe.

Economic Chamber Chief Urges Budget Revision

LD0904202790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 90 Apr 90

[Text] The Hungarian Economic Chamber deputy chairman said that the new government must reexamine the budget immediately, since for a number of reasons the state can expect a lower revenue than planned.

At the opening of the three-day Forum of Auditors at Pecs, Laszlo Fodor explained that the exceptionally large decline in production gives grounds for concern, and, moreover, revenue will also be reduced substantially as a consequence of the loss of income that previously resulted from ruble-accounted trade.

The Economic Chamber deputy president believes that the planned budget deficit must be held below 10 billion forints to enable the economy to fulfill the commitments already made.

Medgyessy Interviewed on Changes Within CEMA

LD1004152290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Report on interview with Peter Medgyessy, Hungarian Council of Ministers deputy chairman, by reporter Janos Hollos; place and date not given]

[Text] According to the Hungarian deputy prime minister, the name of CEMA is today more ridiculous than acceptable, as it means council for mutual economic assistance. We approached Peter Medgyessy because KYODO, the Japanese news agency, reported that changing the name is on the agenda, according to Hungarian sources.

[Begin recording] [Medgyessy] KYODO is a reputable news agency, so I do not imagine that this is guesswork, but I do not know the sources or where they got this from. Such rumors are being spread from time to time. The truth behind it is that CEMA in its present form is not viable. Further in the background is the fact that this name is nowadays more ridiculous than it is acceptable: council for mutual economic assistance. It is obvious that this is not what is now implied. We must find a completely different form; it is not even certain that in the following period such a grouping will continue to operate.

[Hollos] During your discussions, was there any question of changing the name? Was this raised at all?

[Medgyessy] What was mentioned was the modification of ground rules, which is necessarily accompanied by changing the name as well. This was raised by the Czechoslovaks, but other countries did not exclude it either, so for example we could also imagine that it would have a different name. But here it is not the name that is essential, but whether we can create a viable cooperation or not. As I see it it is not today possible to create a viable cooperation; first the old one must be wound up, and then perhaps later we can think about some form of market-based cooperation, which can perhaps be viable on the long run. But even this is possible only if it is integrated into a larger European cooperation. What really happened was that a new era in cooperation began with the signing a few weeks ago of the agreement with the Soviet Union on the changeover, and that we converted the ruble claims to dollar claims. This demonstrates that already the present form is splitting its framework. [end recording]

Rio Group Ministers To Meet in Budapest

AU1104103090 Budapest MTI in English 1504 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, 9 Apr (MTI)—The Rio Group will have a meeting with foreign ministers from East and Central European countries in Budapest on April 12.

The consultative-coordinating forum comprising seven South American countries set up in November 1987 by eight members, with Panama' membership later suspended—have held several joint conferences with the European Economic Community, but it is meeting the group of seven East European states for the first time.

The delegates of the Rio Group will be arriving from a conference with EEC foreign ministers in Dublin, it was announced at the Budapest Foreign Ministry on April 9.

The delegations from Peru, Czechoslovakia, the GDR and the Soviet Union will be led by the first deputy foreign ministers, while those of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Uruguay and Venezuela, as well as Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary and Romania will be led by the foreign ministers.

The parties will look into possibilities of expanding cooperation, but no joint communique or agreement is planned to be signed.

Hungary has diplomatic relations with 16 of the region's 20 countries in Central and South America. Although the majority of about 50 agreements reached so far with Latin American countries embrace trade and technical-scientific relations, economic cooperation is still at a low level. In the eighties, trade turnover was worth about 300 million dollars, and in 1989, it shrunk to 289 million. Hungarian exports accounted for 81 million dollars in 1989, but the trade balance continues to be negative from a Hungarian aspect.

Medgyessy Meets Thai Deputy Prime Minister

LD1004232290 Budapest MTI in English 1942 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 10 (MTI)—Pong Sarasin, deputy prime minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, arrived in Budapest on Tuesday at the invitation of Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy.

During the day, Mr Sarasin held talks with Mr Medgyessy on the political situation, the elections and the change in government.

The Hungarian deputy prime minister pointed out to his guest that, although not starting from scratch in adopting a market economy and bringing about a democratic constitutional state, the new government will not have an easy task.

He said the new government was likely to take over a few elements of the economic policy pursued up to now, such as opening to the world market, adopting a market economy and liberalizing economic life.

Mr Medgyessy also felt that the new government would also make efforts to restore the country's balance. Although related questions were missing from party manifestos, they cannot be ignored after the parties have

obtained power. Therefore, he was sure Hungarian economic policy would remain predictable in the future, and that Hungary would continue to be a reliable partner for Thailand.

On economic questions, Mr Medgyessy said Hungary was an area with good opportunities for Thai industry, meaning that foreign entrepreneurs should also get acquainted with the concessions offered to potential investors.

The Hungarian political atmosphere was favourable for investment. Mr Medgeyessy thinks this opportunity could be better utilized if the two countries signed an agreement on investment protection. The idea was approved by Mr Sarasin, who announced that Thai government bodies had the intention of soon forwarding the draft of the agreement to the Hungarian side.

The Thai deputy prime minister called in turn for agreement on launching a direct flight between Budapest and Bangkok. Mr Medgyessy promised to look into the idea.

The Hungarian side's raising the issue of easing visa regulations was answered by announcing that the pertaining measure was already in the pipeline.

Mr Medgyessy offered economic cooperation in several fields, including the delivery of Hungarian hospital equipment and complete agricultural technological lines.

The plan for a bus assembly plant to be built in Thailand with the involvement of Hungarian companies was also mentioned, the Thai deputy prime minister said according to preliminary studies, the Hungarian side's bid seemed to offer fewer advantages than production in Thailand itself. Still, he said, the issue was still open.

Mr Sarasin said it was to be hoped that the new Hungarian government would continue liberalizing trade. There was a connected proposal for the Hungarian-Thai inter-governmental mixed committee's launching negotiations on easing bilateral trade regulations.

According to another motion, the sides should hold mutual national days in each other's countries.

In the evening, Peter Medgyessy hosted a dinner in honour of Pong Sarasin and his wife.

MSZP Demands Compensation From Springer

LD1104061190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party demands compensation from Axel Springer Budapest, Ltd. This, however has been categorically rejected by the multi-newspaper owner. At the discussions held by the Hungarian subsidiary of the Springer concern and the HSP [MSZP], the Socialists argued the newspapers owned by the party cannot be published, owing to the founding of new papers by Springer. The limited liability company argues that the party papers ceased to exist only because their editors and their staff halted their work at the party publishers, so that they should be able to work henceforth with the capital-strong partners.

Slovak Group Seeks Measures Against Assimilation

LD1004214590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] The Democratic Federation of Slovaks in Hungary is demanding immediate measures to halt the assimilation of the nationality. The Federation, in its open letter to the government and the parties, calls attention to the fact that the assimilation of Slovaks in Hungary has accelerated unexpectedly. In the past 20 years, the number of those with Slovak as their mother tongue has been reduced by half.

Szuros Speaks at Monument Unveiling

LD0604225190 Budapest MTI in English 2040 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 6 (MTI)—A memorial to the legendary ruler, King Matthias of Hungary (1443-1490), has been erected in Szekesfehervar, on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of his death. Szekesfehervar was the town where Matthias was crowned, and buried. The memorial, the work of sculptor Miklos Melocco, was unveiled in the course of a ceremony on Friday.

Matyas Szuros, interim president of the republic, delivered a short speech. He quoted the letter of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, addressed to the residents of the city. Mr Nemeth wrote: The Hungarian people now need self-confidence as they have to solve a task that requires almost unparalelled efforts.

Mr Szuros went on to note that in the past two years, Hungary played a decisive role in the history of Central and Eastern Europe.

The recent past also indicates that to explain the country's past from the aspect of one single ideology, one single view and one single party was more than an error as this was bound to lead to the falsification of history, to losing the national values. "I am confident that shaping the common future, and democracy, will bring the peoples of this region closer together, rather than having them alienated from each other by chauvinistic hate," the interim president of the republic said.

Walesa Confirms Intention To Run for President

LD1004163990 Warsaw PAP in English 1438 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Gdansk, April 10—Lech Walesa confirmed to PAP the unofficial information passed by Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski in an interview for ZYCIE WARSZAWY that the Solidarnosc chairman will run for president of the Republic of Poland in the coming elections.

"This was a disfavour on the part of [the] Kaczynski brothers in that they were too quick with the news and I may lose now," Walesa said.

"But we have the freedom of the press and there is nothing I can do about it. I confirm. We have many wise and valuable people in government, holding various posts. However, one must speed up the pace of reforms, remove old set-ups," Walesa said.

Further on Walesa Announcement

LD1004210990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Lech Walesa's statement that he will be running for the office of president concerns the next presidential elections, about which no decisions regarding date or procedure have been taken, said the Solidarity chairman's spokesman, Jaroslaw Kurski. He further stressed that Lech Walesa's pronouncement can only be examined in this light, and recalled that, as yet, no arrangements other than those resulting from constitutional regulations have been made.

Moczulski Supports Walesa

LD1004225990 Warsaw PAP in English 2100 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 10—In relation to Lech Walesa's announcement to the effect that he is going to run for the office of Poland's president, leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland Leszek Moczulski stated that Walesa should replace President Wojciech Jaruzelski at once, before his term of office expires and without waiting for the elections, because the current internal and international situation of Poland requires that.

The fears of changing the president right now are unjustified, Moczulski said.

He also stated that his party intends to take active part in the future presidential election.

Walesa Speaks at Gdansk Shipyard Rally

LD1004122190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Solidarity Enterprise Commission of the Gdansk shipyard has organized a rally for the workforce devoted to the issue of the yard's future. Antoni Popow reports from the shipyard:

[Popow] It is 0900 [0700 GMT]. A rally was organised by the NSZZ [Independent Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity Enterprise Commission.

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] We have organized this rally in order to ask the government, the management and the deputies from our region, some questions. We are deeply concerned about what is happening to the yard and the entire Polish economy. [end recording]

[Popow] Deputies from Gdansk region participated in the rally. They explained the government's economic policy to the yard workers. Lech Walesa was also present. A representative of the shipyard workers read a resolution containing questions addressed to the government.

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] We demand that clear and truly equal tax and pay conditions be created, which would concern all types of ownership: The state sector, partnerships with mixed capital, joint ventures, Polish firms, cooperatives, and private enterprises. We expect some convincing explanations on why the future joint stock company Gdansk Shipyard must bear the burden of the liquidation decision of Rakowski's government.

When will the Industry Ministry be freed from people who, during the period of Communist power, advised the liquidation of our enterprise, and who are now equally keen to propose to the minister to animate the maritime industry and economy? [end recording]

[Popow] In the resolution the yard workers ask the government, among other things, about how much longer it will maintain the principle of limited sovereignty of the enterprise, and what benefits the yard can have from foreign companies preying on cheap energy and machinery. They demand a profitable cooperation with Soviet ship companies.

Should there be no response by the government to these demands, the workforce of the Gdansk shipyard decided to call another rally and to take further measures before 30 April.

After the resolution had been read, Lech Walesa supplemented his speech with the following remark:

[Begin Walesa recording] We fought for everyone, but not for ourselves. As you remember, in 1980 the yard was fighting, and now the yard will fight again. We achieved the least for ourselves. Poland should at last remember that we fought for everyone, but had nothing for ourselves. The time of fighting has ended, but the time of having its effects we will also win. [sentence as heard] [Words indistinct] not for the whole of Poland, but for ourselves. We fought for the whole of Poland. Now we are fighting for ourselves. [applause] [end recording]

Walesa Interview on Mazowiecki Government

LD1004182890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1025 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by reporter Andrzej Bielecki in studio—live]

[Excerpts] [Bielecki] I welcome you, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the listeners of Polish Radio's first program. Poland is moving toward democracy. We are bidding farewell to the totalitarian system. The path of building a democratic state and society is difficult. Some claim that it is very difficult.

[Walesa] I also welcome the listeners of Polish Radio's first program. To answer your question, I would say that we have overthrown one system but have not gotten another one. I wanted to do this in a different way. I wanted to dismantle it and build a new one. [passage omitted: generalities on democracy, pluralist society, importance of hard work and the fact that no political organization should have a monopoly of power in Poland]

[Bielecki] Society has trust in Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government....

[Walesa, interrupting] In Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki in particular because he looks as tired as Poland. That is why he is understood so well by a tired Poland. But everything has its limits. He has been identified with victory and people will start demanding from him some effects of the victory. They have already started to set out these demands. But so far there have been no results. Small people are paying with unemployment and an uncertain tomorrow. But around them they see the old nomenklatura growing in force; [nomenklatura] companies are being set up and the assets stolen. These two things are in terrible opposition and in this connection people will demand results. They see the right direction but at the same time they see many shortcomings.

[Bielecki] Can the Solidarity chairman be asked for an assessment of Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz's program?

[Walesa] I will not attempt to make an assessment. I can say that whoever I talked to here, particularly from the West, but also from the East—people who know something about an economy, because I know less about it—say that this program is good. And I say, if everyone says that it is good and I have no other program, then I support it too, although I do not believe that it is the only program, even though I have not voiced other solutions. From the social point of view and in my opinion one should not make people redundant but create new possibilities so that people will leave by themselves.

If banks are set up, as in the idea I proposed, in every voivodship, at least 20 banks would have to earn their living. They would lend money to people, or enable people to import machinery, and people would try to do business. They would leave factories and set up these businesses. It would happen particularly in places where they are poorly paid, where the production is not going well and where the pay is poor.

However, Balcerowicz introduced redundancies. It was right and in the right direction, but people cannot do anything and there are no jobs. There are no banks but there will be.

With my idea, I proposed not to fight inflation with poverty, but as Poland already [words indistinct] above all to try to sell Poland to people who have money, but also to those who have no money but who have initiative. Give them credit. They will repay it in 20 years. [passage omitted: more on Walesa's theory on how to fight inflation]

To summarize, I support Balcerowicz's program because there is no other program, although I believe that there are and there could be other programs. But society should be more active and should not lay down its weapons but continue to struggle. [passage omitted: discussion on the role of the Citizens' Committee, the importance of local government and participation of individuals in building a better future]

[Bielecki] Do you favor holding earlier free and democratic parliamentary elections?

[Walesa] I think that some people have already started occupying their posts. People everywhere act in a strange manner. We have not learned to give up our posts. We have not learned to give our positions up. We climb in a chair and immediately occupy it and immediately defend it. This is not the right way. It should not be like this. Already today some of our distinguished people have started to be occupiers of their posts and places. One should fight against it and subsequently work out a way to give up one's posts. This should be done as soon as possible. [passage omitted: role of Solidarity in the past and future]

[Bielecki] Thank you very much on behalf of the listeners of Polish Radio's first program.

Daily Examines National Defense Committee's Role

PM1004130690 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 16 Feb 90 p 17

[Dorota Macieja article: "KOK"]

[Text] Recently many people have been wondering: Who really runs Poland? (the government? Walesa? parliament?) Few notice the National Defense Committee [KOK]—an institution which for many years has influenced the country's fate in a mysterious and never completely explained way.

Its secretariat is in the center of the capital, on Olszewska Street (parallel to Rakowiecka Street and close to the Interior Affairs Ministry [MSW]), but very few Varsovians are aware of this. Outsiders hardly ever penetrate

there. I visited the KOK twice within a week and saw only one other name, apart from my own, in the visitors' book. There are more than 50 persons, including 30 officers, employed there (and even their names are secret).

Brief Historical Outline

The KOK was established in 1958 on the basis of a Council of Ministers Resolution, as an equivalent of the State Defense Council in the USSR. Similar supreme authority apparatuses, operating above supervision and the constitution, were set up in every state of the socialist bloc. They were designed as unification and control instruments to be deployed in the event of the party's failure.

In 1967 the famous "Act on Universal Duty to Defend the Polish People's Republic" was passed. This accorded wide powers to the KOK, since the latter "determines the general principles of the defense of the Polish People's Republic," which in effect meant that we were giving up our own defense doctrine and adopting the Soviet one instead. Furthermore, the National Defense Committee was empowered to "subordinate any kind of forces or MSW military units."

Consequently, in practice both the National Defense Ministry [MON] and the MSW were subordinated to the KOK. It could respond to external threats but, first and foremost, it was expected to respond to "instances of unrest" in the country and consequently it could "propose motions concerning introduction of martial law." At such times it would assume the role of state administrator and, as we recall, it did indeed demonstrate this capacity after 13 December 1981 by ordering the militarization of many enterprises and the mobilization of employees.

The KOK also determines and allocates duties proceeding from the universal defense duty, beginning with the military department within each ministry, through voivodas and heads of parish administration, to work enterprises or any other institutions you care to name.

The Leader

According to the first version of the act, the KOK chairman was the chairman of the Council of Ministers—that is, in succession, J. Cyrankiewicz, P. Jaroszewicz, E. Babiuch, J. Pinkowski, and, since 1981, General W. Jaruzelski.

However, we should not assume from the above that the KOK was independent of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. There is much evidence to indicate that the first secretary played the decisive role in it.

In November 1983 when, after the lifting of martial law, the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] was made a constituent part of KOK structures, the 1967 act was amended. The KOK ceased to be a committee of the Council of Ministers and became an "independent body" chaired by a person to be appointed by the Sejm. Naturally, the Sejm elected Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski to this post. In this way W. Jaruzelski became KOK chairman for the second time: first, on the strength of the Act, and then by the will of the powerless Sejm. Appearances of democratization of life required a sharing of power. Gen. Jaruzelski gave up his post as defense minister (in any case, he still held control over the MON as the KOK chairman), and at the same time said in a public appearance: "I have not ceased to be a soldier (...) I shall exercise supreme command over the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic (...) Our primary task is to defend a socialist Poland—a Poland inviolable as regards its territory and its sociopolitical system and one for which whole generations of patriots and revolutionaries have shed their blood. A Poland which constitutes the goal to which the party program and party ideology ultimately lead." (ZYCIE WARSZAWY 24 November)

In 1989 the situation changed. After the roundtable conference it became clear that the Sejm, at least in part, will no longer slavishly serve the PZPR and follow its guidelines. It became probable that it would not elect Gen. Jaruzelski as head of the KOK. The act had to be amended as soon as possible. Because the roundtable conference also envisaged the creation of the office of president—reserved in advance for Gen. Jaruzelski—there were no difficulties. The constitutional amendment of 8 April 1989 not only gave the president supreme command of the Armed Forces, but also established that "he chairs the National Defense Committee, which is the competent body in matters of state defense of security." In this clever, although enigmatic, way the KOK was introduced into the constitution. Its employees do not conceal their satisfaction: "The WRON was illegal, whereas we are even anchored in the constitution."

Composition

Everything taking place in the KOK has always been secret; the membership registers of its successive teams have not been disclosed until this day. I was even promised that certain lists in the KOK Secretariat would be "declassified," but a week later this promise was withdrawn. Nor could I find out whose order this was: They just would not be declassified and that was that.

Consequently, the only available information to go by is what was contained in TRYBUNA LUDU reports.

The first time the KOK Presidium 's composition was disclosed to the public was 29 November 1983 when, having lifted martial law, the authorities set about wooing the public with appearances of a policy of openness. Apart from Gen. Jaruzelski, the following names were listed: Zbigniew Messner and Manfred Gorywoda, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; Florian Siwicki, defense minister; and two members of little significance—Justice Minister Lech Domeracki and the head of the Environmental Protection Office,

Minister Stefan Jastrzebski. A completely different composition was quoted in May 1989: The only deputies hailing from the government were M. Rakowski, who was already being groomed for the post of PZPR first secretary, and Defense Minister F. Siwicki. Apart from these, the leaders of the so-called allied parties were also listed—that is, in addition to Gen. Jaruzelski, United Peasant Party [ZSL] Supreme Committee Chairman Roman Malinowski and Democratic Party [SD] Chairman Jerzy Jozwiak. It was revealed that Internal Affairs Minister Cz. Kiszczak and Foreign Affairs Minister T. Olechowski were also KOK members. In effect, there is no discernible key to the selection pattern: The decision on who is recruited to the KOK belongs to the chairman who, as he is not bound by its statutory regulations, has been selecting trusted candidates under his control.

A report entitled "KOK Session Held" was customarily published on the front page of TRYBUNA LUDU three or four times a year. Naturally, you cannot form many conclusions from the dry statements delivered in the party-military newspeak, but the dates of the sittings alone indicate that the subjects on the agenda were not military matters but the social and political situation of the country and the secure position of the authorities. There was even a time, in August 1988, with the strike wave gaining momentum, when the KOK publicly acknowledged that it convened "to appraise the current sociopolitical situation in the country in connection with the emergent dangers. Appropriate decisions were made." Presumably one such decision was to introduce a curfew in parts of Katowice, Szczecin, and Gdansk voivodships.

The extent of the KOK operational program was revealed by Colonel Ryszard Kuklinski of the Polish People's Army General Headquarters, who defected to the West in 1981. In a 1986 interview to the Paris KULTURA he recalls preparations before the introduction of martial law: "The preliminary version of the plans, including certain legislative bills, was completed in November 1980 and in the same month it was submitted for analysis by the KOK, which was at the time chaired by then Premier Pinkowski (...) Judging, rightly, that an introduction of martial law in the prevailing circumstances in the country could end in a military intervention by the USSR, the KOK merely acknowledged the blueprints presented by the MON and the MSW and only ordered a continuation of the preparations for that event. At the instance of the MON, the KOK agreed that the preparations for an introduction of martial law should also apply to key civilian sectors, especially those of communications, power, transport, and trade." Col. Kuklinski also reveals the details of the 13 September 1981 KOK session, which Stanislaw Kania—then PZPR Central Committee first secretary, but not a KOK member—was invited to attend. Because Kania spoke in favor of dealing with Solidarity merely through political measures, he was removed from his post. As early as 18 September he was replaced by then Premier and KOK Chairman Gen. W. Jaruzelski. Thus the whole extent of real power came to be concentrated in the hands of one man.

The Dangers

Let us try to answer the question: What were the political and economic consequences of the extensive powers wielded by the KOK?

The act on universal duty to defend the country left a loophole whereby each decision concerning the civilian sector could be regarded from the military viewpoint. Through the agency of the KOK it imposed guidelines for and at the same time controlled the activities of all the ministries and in turn, through these, controlled all aspects of the life of society. The KOK imposed a direct supremacy over the policies of the MON and the MSW, but it also "took an interest" in the education of the young generation and in all manifestations of active involvement on the part of the Polish people. It is probably not widely known that the KOK appointed an ancillary commission for patriotic and defensive education of Polish youth, headed first by Gen. J. Baryla and then by Leszek Miller. Officials at the Ministry of Education Military Department took pains to assure me that all that belonged to the past: "What is the purpose of your raking these things up now?

Already in his capacity as president, Gen. W. Jaruzelski appointed a new National Defense Committee—this time openly. Apart from the long-serving members—that is, the chairman himself (who has held this function since 1981), and Generals Kiszczak and Siwicki—the following were called to serve on it: Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki (as deputy KOK chairman); Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz (deputy chairman for economic affairs); Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski; Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz; Foreign Affairs Minister K. Skubiszewski; Minister of State J. Czyrek (PZPR); Minister of Transport F. Wieladek; and five generals.

Incidentally, we all recall the PZPR's insistence—at the time when T. Mazowiecki was creating his government—on placing its own men in the Transportation Ministry. This was hardly surprising, since the minister at the head of that sector should have a seat on the KOK and belong to the same political camp. After all, transport is the third major strategic sector after national defense and internal affairs.

The top Solidarity representatives whose prominent names adorn the register of KOK members have only enhanced its significance and endorsed its leading role in the state. This role is even more important now that the party has lost its power.

The Senate speaker declared: "I would never have agreed to join the KOK on my own, but it was advisable to do so together with the Solidarity team, so that we could safeguard the proper nature of this institution. So that it

is not an esoteric body, keeping its secrets from the public and dealing with matters in which it ought not to be involved."

Can this team really control and influence KOK decisions? After all, there are only four people in it, as against 11 who boast PZPR lineage.

Admittedly, neither Deputy Premier L. Balcerowicz nor Minister K. Skubiszewski refused to answer our question about why and for what purpose they joined the KOK, but their answers keep being postponed from one week to the next. Similar evasive tactics are being employed by all the other members, too.

The KOK has not presented any reports on its activity to date, nor has it opened its archives for inspection. Everything is left unchanged and we are in no doubt that it is actually run and controlled by an undisclosed secretariat. It is also highly likely that there are areas and spheres in the activity of this "supergovernment" over which none of the four "evolutionists" from Solidarity have any control.

We must all face the fact that an undemocratically elected president stands at the head of an undemocratically elected supergovernment empowered to interfere in all aspects of our life. To give an example: Are we free to assemble, protest, or take strike action, or is a military unit going to be dispatched against us? The KOK can decide all these—for our own safety and security, of course.

National Defense Committee Not 'Supergovernment'

LD1004192890 Warsaw PAP in English 1635 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 10—The principles and the scope of activity of the National Defence Committee (KOK) in the structure of civil defence, as well as reform of defensive training outside the army, were the topic of the first press conference by the committee's representatives here today.

For understandable reasons, the conference focused on the committee itself, often termed a supergovernment. The committee is no supergovernment, its representatives stressed. It is an organ pursuing overt activities pertaining to the defence and security of the state. It reports to parliament and is supervised by the Supreme Board of Control. KOK cooperates with the government and other state organs on the basis of partnership and mutual respect.

Sitting on the committee are: President of the Republic of Poland Wojciech Jaruzelski, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Minister of National Defence General Florian Siwicki, Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslaw Kiszczak, Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski, Minister of State Jozef Czyrek, Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Minister of Transport and Maritime Economy Franciszek Adam Wieladek, Chief of the President's Chancellery General Michal Janiszewski, Deputy Minister of National Defence for General Affairs General Antoni Jasinski, Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army General Jozef Uzycki, First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs General Henryk Dankowski and chief of the country's Civil Defence General Jerzy Skalski who is also KOK's secretary.

Sejm Adopts Draft Amendments to Constitution

LD1104101890 Warsaw PAP in English 0930 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 11—The Sejm started debates today to hear the first reading of draft amendments to the Constitution. Under the draft, local state administration bodies will be able to work after April 30, that is after the term of People's Councils expires. The amendments were presented by Deputy Jerzy Orzel on behalf of the Extraordinary Committee which had worded the bill.

After the second reading of the draft the Sejm decided not to send it to committees and adopted the law.

Skubiszewski: No Fear on German Border Issue

PM1104101690 Madrid ABC in Spanish 30 Mar 90 p 36

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Jose Grau; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[introductory passage omitted] [Grau] As foreign minister, are you afraid that even if Germany signs a peace treaty with Poland it could desire territories that belonged to it before the war?

[Skubiszewski] I have no such fear. Both the GDR and the FRG have assured us that they do not aspire to annex Polish territories. Why, then, do we want to sign a treaty with the united Germany? In the FRG there are regulations governing its 1937 boundaries. This must be abolished. German unity must make a good start with regard to Polish-German relations. They must not be upset by open questions about borders. Hence stems our proposal to sign a "border treaty" with the united Germany—and a treaty ratified by the entire country. It would be possible to start drawing up this treaty during the "two-plus-four" conference, but after that the two German governments—if they still exist—must ratify it. The final signature would be that of the united Germany. This treaty must have the status and scope of a "peace settlement" or "peace treaty." The treaty to which we aspire in the first instance will be not an actual peace treaty but just a "border treaty."

[Grau] What would you say about the fears that even if the Germans do sign a treaty with your country they could still want territories at present part of Poland?

[Skubiszewski] I do not share these fears. At present there are no major desires on Germany's part to annex Polish territories, since the Goerlitz agreement with the GDR nd the normalization agreement with the FRG recognize the Oder-Neisse line, Poland's present border with Germany. It is a matter of making this recognition apply to the whole of Germany. It is difficult to say whether in the future there will be people in Germany who do not recognize this treaty. But if the united German government signs such an agreement, then the government must observe it. That is why I have no fears in this regard.

[Grau] How would you judge the federal chancellor's attitude? Would you say that his attitude reflects a strategy to win votes in the FRG?

[Skubiszewski] I would say that I trust Chancellor Kohl's position. I have spoken with him twice, and he does not question Poland's present border with Germany. As for electoral tactics, I think not. In my opinion it is not an electoral strategy. Perhaps there are difficulties in Mr. Kohl's party—that is, more fundamental problems. But the border issue is too important to make it the subject of an electoral tactic. Perhaps there are problems regarding the viewpoint of some members of the German Christian democratic party.

[Grau] Some Germans believe, and write, that Silesia and other territories that belonged to Germany before the war constitute compensation to Poland for war damages.

[Skubiszewski] No, that is not true. According the Potsdam agreements the Polish-German border is one thing and war damages another, dealt with in another section. The border issue is completely separate from that of compensation. Neither in the Potsdam agreements nor in other documents of the superpowers or the allies is it stated that this territory was a compensation to Poland.

It was not a compensation. From a superpower's viewpoint, it was a compensation, but not from Poland's viewpoint, since our border with the Soviet Union is an entirely separate issue from that of our border with Germany. [passage omitted on post-war settlement]

Skubiszewski Views New Germany's Military Status

PM1104140290 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 31 Mar 90 p 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Ricardo Estarriol; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[introductory passage omitted] [Estarriol] Premier Mazowiecki proposed that a treaty be signed with Poland by the two present German Governments. Have you now relinquished this demand?

[Skubiszewski] No, not at all. This is still a topical issue: It would be a first step.

[Estarriol] Do you believe that there is a real threat of territorial revisionism?

[Skubiszewski] I do not believe that territorial revisionism can become part of the future Germany's foreign policy. The two world wars were a sufficient warning. But we must not lose our sensitivity. This is why the proposal of an enduring and final definition of the existing borders enjoys general support throughout Europe. Furthermore, the guarantee of stability will be the future Germany's integration into the new overall European security system.

[Estarriol] How does Poland envisage the future status of the new Germany?

[Skubiszewski] The important thing is for the reunified Germany to remain in NATO. The military status of the future reunified Germany must not undermine stability and balance in Europe or the sense of security—especially of Germany's neighbors. Poland opposes a neutral united Germany.

[Estarriol] There does not seem to be much enthusiasm for this idea in Germany...

[Skubiszewski] This could cause serious political conflicts in Germany itself, where it is possible to imagine some politicians' making a campaign out of it. There could be renewed talk of discrimination against Germany, and I would like to avoid that.

[Estarriol] In other words, you are not very convinced by the idea of a reunified Germany's belonging to NATO, with Soviet troops in one part of its territory.

[Skubiszewski] I consider it a very temporary solution and, as such, I regard it with skepticism. The GDR's population does not want any kind of foreign troops. In any case, Germany's membership of politco-military structures must be clearly defined. Talks on German unification must produce a guarantee of continuity and permanence of the existing arms limitations on the FRG, and particularly of its foregoing possession of nuclear weapons. A new military status would have to apply to the entire continent. The changes are so profound that that which seemed impossible until yesterday could become a reality tomorrow. One example could be the formation of a Polish-German or Czechoslovak-German military unit, following the model of the existing Franco-German brigade, with the aim of creating a climate of confidence, with small border units.

[Estarriol] When will the Soviet troops leave Poland?

[Skubiszewski] Their presence in Poland is connected with the presence of other Soviet troops in the GDR. I am not a fortune teller for Poland. Their reduction and a revision of the agreement on their presence will soon be negotiated between the two governments.

[Estarriol] What happened to Poland's demand for German and Soviet war reparations?

[Skubiszewski] This concerns some 40,000 survivors of the Nazi camps and some 80,000 workers who did forced labor in Germany. Our arguments have encountered understanding on the part of a sector of the FRG's political class.

[Estarriol] What about the USSR?

[Skubiszewski] Special committees of both governments will soon start specific negotiations on this topic. The negotiations will be difficult, after 40 years of official silence.

[Estarriol] After 1921 the Polish-Soviet border lay some 250 km eastward of its present line: These lands were annexed to the USSR under the reviled Ribbentropp-Molotov agreement. Will Poland seek a border treaty with the USSR?

[Skubiszewski] Poland's eastern border is defined by the 1945 agreement, which the Polish Government considers final.

[Estarriol] What are Poland's priorities?

[Skubiszewski] The priority is the EC, but this does not rule out attempts to reform CEMA. Poland has already announced that it will seek an agreement of association with the EC, and in the future we hope to be able to enjoy the status of members.

Military Daily Views Soviet Baltic Naval Forces

AU1104085990 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 5 Apr 90 p 5

[Lieutenant Commander Marek Grzybowski article: "Russians On the Baltic"]

[Text] The changes taking place in the countries of our Eastern neighbors are, for obvious reasons, intently watched by Poland. The development of these changes can be observed as a combination of many internal factors that together are the visible product of perestroyka. In public commentaries and in private discussions these changes are usually seen in terms of political, cultural, or economic categories. The whole problem of the Soviet Union's defense requirements tends to be overlooked.

In the Baltic region, the situation has been complicated by the dynamic development of several secessionist movements in each of the Baltic republics. The importance that the Soviet naval command attaches to possible operations in the Baltic is illustrated by the fact that it has sited no less than six large naval bases along the Baltic. Together, these bases have 180 warships and 150 support vessels. The Kaliningrad oblast, an oblast that belongs to the Russian Soviet Federated Republic, has two naval bases, namely, one in Kaliningrad, which also houses the Soviet Baltic Fleet's high command and its general staff, and the other in Baltiysk. The road and rail links with these two bases runs through Lithuanian territory. The next two bases, one in Riga and one in Liepaja, are situated along the Latvian coast. The next base is in Tallinn in Estonia, and the sixth naval base is in Kronstadt near Leningrad.

Two missile cruisers, six missile destroyers, and 85 naval frigates and corvettes form the core of the Baltic Fleet's surface forces. Some 60 missile naval cutters and 50 torpedo boats give it a significant strike capacity. The Baltic Fleet's subsurface forces consist of 40 submarines, of which every one in four is armed with missiles. An essential element of the fleet's strike capacity comes from its assault units which include a 2,000-strong brigade of marine infantry and a 1,000-strong special operations brigade. Additionally, the assault forces include three battalions of naval combat frogmen, an airborne assault battalion and a group of miniature submarine craft. Four large assault transport vessels (displacement of 4,000 tonnes), 20 medium assault vessels (displacement of over 1,200 tonnes), and 30 smaller vessels (naval cutters and smaller landing assault craft) stand by to transport men and equipment. Assault hovercraft, of which there are some 25 various types, include five of the "AIST" type that can transport up to five PT-76 tanks at a speed of 65 knots.

The Soviet Baltic Fleet's Naval Air Force consists of fighter-bomber aircraft designated for locating and destroying submarines, and other maritime reconnaissance and transport aircraft. The core of its combat force comes from the six naval air force regiments which each have 24 to 36 fighter-bomber aircraft. Some 15 IL-38, 20 Be-12 aircraft, and 40 helicopters of various types are earmarked for submarine location and destruction. Some 25 refueling tanker aircraft stand by to supply the necessary fuel. Onshore, six surface-to-air missile battalions complete the defensive system of the area under the command of the Soviet Baltic Fleet.

Some 110,000 officers and sailors keep this equipment at combat readiness. This figure represents about one quarter of the whole of the Soviet Navy's manpower. Such concentration of significant force and equipment on such a narrow front resuits from the proximity of NATO's northern flank, according to the Commander of the Soviet Navy Admiral of the Fleet Vladimir Chernavin. That is why the local forces that Lithuania is proposing to form cannot by themselves be regarded as a serious and reliable defense of this region, stated the admiral in an interview for NOVOSTI.

Even a superficial analysis of the anticipated changes in these parts of the USSR allows one to conclude that in the event of rapid independence of the Baltic nations, Soviet naval forces will lose three of its present bases and may experience difficulties of access to its two others, leaving aside the airfields and its surface-to- air missile launch sites. Undoubtedly, this will have a decisive effect on the changes in the existing defensive system in the whole region and the balance of forces in the Baltic. One ought to, thus, anticipate changes to the Soviet Union's defensive concepts for the Baltic theater, a change that

has been made necessary by the development of both the internal situation, as well as by the changes on the political map of Europe.

Deputy Defense Minister on Warsaw Pact's Future

LD1004231690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Deputy National Defense minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz has paid a visit to the Third Luzyre Artillery and Air Defense Brigade. Janusz Onyszkiewicz was a private in his previous contact with the Army. A dozen or so years ago he took part in the computerization project for the command system of the Air Defense forces.

[Begin Onyszkiewicz recording] While a state is becoming a nation-state, the state of all citizens, the military affairs ministry also has to open up to civilians and, so to speak, to adopt, to try to adopt, at least, the standards binding in the democratic countries of the West, where the national defense ministries are run by civilians, civilian politicians.

I believe our presence will help the Army to regain society's full understanding, and it will help society too to convince itself that the Army is its force. My duties, my sphere of interest, will include allied matters, i.e., matters concerning the Warsaw Pact, disarmament talks, and all foreign affairs. The Warsaw Pact, as we know, is going through a period of change. We would like it to cease to be an ideological pact—in fact, it already has—and to become a defensive pact, a political pact. This will have to have, (?to cause) the corresponding changes in its way of functioning.

In addition—let's be frank here—this pact must change, because the situation in Germany, for instance, is changing. The entire political setup is changing there. The GDR People's Army will probably cease to exist soon. We would eventually like to replace the Warsaw Pact and NATO some time in the future by a broader pact of collective security in Europe. That means a pact in which there must be military as well as political elements. The National Defense Ministry must also, of course, play its role in discussing this pact. [end recording]

Lafontaine, Kwasniewski View Left's Future

AU1104115390 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 6 Apr 90 p 2

[Waldemar Kiedaj report: "The Values of the Left In Europe"]

[Text] Oskar Lafontaine: I see definite possibilities for development between the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and the Polish social democracy. It is clear that we have to see how Polish social democracy develops. Cooperation has to be defined, so to say, from the inside; namely from the internal content. In any case, we social democrats from West Germany will always strive to improve our cooperation with political forces that are themselves based on the ideals and aims of democratic socialism.

It has become clear that socialism will only have a future if it bases itself on democratic and liberal ideas and not on the interpretation that was recently given to it through the use of the so-called real socialism. Taking this as its starting point, the SPD will seek to act so that social democracy in its true sense is given a chance in East and Central Europe.

It is true that today the forces of the left in the East appear to be significantly weaker than in the West. This fact is the result of history. It could also be due to the fact that people have been disillusioned by the ideals they espoused and which failed them in practice. The historical success of social democracy is the fact that it has managed to survive the test of reality. That is why in the longer term, I foresee that social democracy will find its rightful place in the new democracies of East and Central Europe.

In Poland, I had the opportunity to underscore the position of the West German social democracy toward the Polish-German border. We accept this border without reservations, because we also want to think in a European way. Additionally, we do so because one day we want to have a Europe where borders will cease to have any meaning.

Aleksander Kwasniewski: In the discussions I had with the premier of the Saar, the distinguished SPD politician, we considered three matters. The first concerned Polish-German relations. I recalled Lafontaine's recent statement which categorically stressed a readiness to give all necessary guarantees in relation to the Polish-German border. I consider that it is the most far reaching declaration that we have ever heard from a West German politician.

We also discussed the future of social democracy in the former socialist countries of East and Central Europe. This problem contains many complex issues which are linked to the preservation of left wing values for society. Our party, especially in its economic policy, is striving to ensure that these values are not lost irretrievably. Nevertheless, reconstruction is a long-term process that requires much patience.

We also discussed the question of cooperation between the our parties. The future looks promising, as our present meeting proves. We agreed to develop interparty cooperation and to give it the highest priority. I am thinking, for example, of cooperation between the respective foundations, exchanges of experts, and mutual advice.

The development of the situation in East and Central Europe, full of its novel problems, linked to, for example, the weakness of the pluralist tradition, is extremely important for the future of democratic socialism on the continent. The paradox of our 20th century is that the

left in East Europe enjoys a more favorable opinion in Western Europe than it does at home. The dilemmas that are associated with this paradox are well understood by the SPD.

Explanation on Demand for USSR Compensation

LD0904211790 Warsaw PAP in English
2046 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 9—"In connection with the press information quoting an unauthorised statement by Minister of Justice Aleksander Bentkowski on the issue of getting Soviet Union's compensations for Poles' forced labour on the Soviet territory during WW 2, amounting to not less than 4 billion roubles, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs explains:

"The matter of compensations, both moral and material, for the Poles for wrongs faced by them in the USSR, including also these caused by forced labour, was raised during bilateral talks, including talks on top level.

"This matter is not yet under realisation. During the talks the scale and size of compensation demands were not defined. The presentation of concrete postulates has to be preceded by collecting by competent ministries of the Republic of Poland appropriate documentation concerning the matter and taking account of the demands of all those directly wronged and also—in certain cases—of their legal descendants," the statement reads.

PAP Previews Jaruzelski Visit to USSR

LD1004200890 Warsaw PAP in English
1855 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 10—Wojciech Jaruzelski's official visit to the Soviet Union starting on April 11 at the invitation of Mikhail Gorbachev will be the first meeting of the two leaders since Gorbachev's election to president of the USSR. Apart from official talks, the programme envisages trips to Lvov and Kiev. The president will also pay tribute to the Katyn victims and will go to the village of Lenino where the first division of the Polish Army formed in the USSR waged its first battle with the Germans.

The visit will not only be yet another important step on the road to consolidation of a new type of interstate relations based on respect for sovereignty, equal rights and partnership. It will also provide an opportunity for an exchange of experiences acquired by the two countries in the process of transformation of to-date systems and internal structures. It is expected that these matters will be reflected in a declaration redefining the shape of Polish-Soviet relations. The Polish side hopes that in this document the Soviet Union will express in a clear and unambiguous way the historical truth about the Katyn crime. This would pave the way for clarification of other difficult and painful chapters from the history of Polish-Soviet relations, would clear grounds for a new shaping of our mutual contacts in the future.

A good future of Polish-Soviet contacts requires a careful examination of existing bilateral agreements, including the 1945 treaty on friendship and mutual assistance. One can expect that both presidents will provide a political impulse for talks on a new content of the treaty, including economic maters, Soviet troops in Poland, etc.

In all probability, the talks will also concern Polish claims concerning Polish cultural values in the territory of the USSR. A group of outstanding experts has been appointed in Poland to conduct talks on the matter with the Soviet side. The group is chaired by Professor Aleksander Gieysztor who belongs to Jaruzelski's entourage during the visit.

International affairs will be an important element of the talks, among them unification of Germany, Polish participation in the 2 plus 4 conference, Poland's border with the two German states.

Both presidents are also expected to raise questions of a broader, pan-European dimension, connected with the shaping of integration processes and the construction of a new system of international security.

Jaruzelski Departs for Moscow Meetings

LD1104055190 Warsaw PAP in English
0512 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 11—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski left for a visit to the USSR this morning. Commentaries in the Warsaw dailies stress that the visit is to originate the construction of a new model in mutual Polish-Soviet relations.

Jaruzelski, Gorbachev To Discuss Katyn, Germany

LD1104085590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0600 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish Republic, by station special reporter Andrzej Jelenski at Warsaw's Okecie Airport on 11 April—recorded]

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish Republic, left this morning on a four-day, official visit to the USSR at the invitation of Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Among those seeing off the head of state was Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Our special reporter Andrzej Jelenski has just returned from Warsaw's Okecie Airport.

[Jelenski] Good morning, Mr. President, First program, Polish radio. What's to be sorted out during this visit to Moscow?

[Jaruzelski] Above all, confirmation of all those things that have passed the test, which have lasting value—these are the things which we want to continue. Second, taking the next step forward, both regarding matters of

such importance to the Polish nation as the full disclosure of the painful pages in our common history, which I believe will occur, and an exchange of views on international and economic issues.

[Jelenski] Apparently, the signing of a declaration on Polish- Soviet relations is anticipated.

[Jaruzelski] I would like to remind you here that such a declaration, perhaps of a somewhat different type, was signed three years ago—precisely three years ago—in April 1987, and we achieved a great deal as a result of this declaration. This will be the next important document which, I believe, will outline the directions of our cooperation for the coming period.

[Jelenski] And what about changes in the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union?

[Jaruzelski] This is not so much a question of changes in its letter. All in all, that treaty, such as it was, passed the test. What is of greater importance is its implementation. More important is the climate for its implementation, overcoming all those things which at one time were erroneous, and which at one time were unjust and incorrect.

[Jelenski] The problem of Europe, a Europe without borders, and the issue of the unification of Germany?

[Jaruzelski] Well yes, this will certainly be a subject of my talks with Mikhail Gorbachev.

[Jelenski] What form will the discussions on settling accounts and the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland take during your visit to Moscow, sir?

[Jaruzelski] We will generally be discussing the stationing of Soviet troops in the wider European context. European security, and specific technical and organizational issues will no doubt also emerge within the scope of this subject.

[Jelenski] Mr. President, you have mentioned that the Katyn affair has to be fully explained. We may also expect that the rehabilitation of Polish citizens who suffered serious losses during the last war will be discussed.

[Jaruzelski] (?We will be discussing) this whole group of difficult and painful issues, and, being aware of the understanding for our people, for their sensitivities to these problems on the part of Mikhail Gorbachev, I am convinced that here also we will achieve [word indistinct] progress.

[Jelenski] May we also expect that the issue of reacquiring national cultural assets will be discussed?

[Jaruzelski] [Words indistinct] in Lvov and in Kiev. We will be considering [word indistinct] matters which deserve both a Ukrainian and a Polish point of view since there are also valuable assets of the Ukrainian nation on Polish soil. Of course, we have tried a great many expectations to what we shall see and what is to be found on Ukrainian soil.

[Jelenski] Thank you most kindly for the interview, sir.

Jaruzelski Receives Sony President Morita

LD1104014290 Warsaw PAP in English 1945 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 10—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today president of the "Sony" corporation Akio Morita.

The Japanese guest presented the intentions of his corporation in the field of development of cooperation with Poland. "Sony" belongs to the world's leading producers of electronic and audio-visual equipment.

Later in the day, the founder and owner of the "Sony" corporation met with Lech Walesa at the seat of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] "Solidarnosc" in Gdansk. The talks concerned, among other things, the possibilities of economic cooperation between the Polish and Japanese enterprises as well as the chances for training Polish managers in Japan.

Next, Akio Morita met with Gdansk Voivode Jerzy Jedykiewicz with whom he also discussed matters of economic cooperation.

NSF Operated 'Six Months' Before Revolution

AU1004210090 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 4 Apr 90 p 1

[Simion Alexandru article: "NSF-RCP"]

[Text] Mr. Iliescu and Roman claim that the National Salvation Front [NSF] is an outcome of the revolution. On the basis of this statement they want to ensure their legitimacy and to get a head start in the election campaign.

Nothing could be more wrong than this!

We have a video cassette (widely circulated) that proves the opposite.

The pictures on this cassette depict the key moments, after Ceausescu's escape, when the core of the new power was set up at the headquarters of the former Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP). General Militaru, standing near Mr. Iliescu, makes the following statement: The National Salvation Front has been operating for six months.

Since those present (Messrs. Iliescu, Roman, Birladeanu, Brucan, and others) were unable to reach an agreement on the name and tasks of the future body of power, Mr. Militaru intervened: "The National Salvation Front has been operating for six months... it has to be a party and state body!"

To this new statement, Mr. Roman replied: "This sounds like hell!" This, meaning "party and state."

Thus, the NSF is without "party and state."

But only because it "sounds like hell." That is, it sounds awful in the ears of our people. Because now we know very clearly that the NSF protects the interests of the RCP nomenklatura.

What we propose to serious parties (not to NSF satellites) is to use this cassette (parts of it) in their election campaign to demonstrate that the NSF is the RCP.

Roman Calls Economy 'The Most Urgent Problem'

PM1004153290 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 30 Mar 90 p 16

[Interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by Darie Novaceanu in Bucharest; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Novaceanu] What is the most urgent problem confronting the government which you head?

[Roman] The most urgent problem is the switch to a market economy—liberalizing the forces of supply and demand and thus making economic activities profitable. The difficulty of this process is clear if we consider all the inherited economic activities which greatly hamper making the economy profitable.

[Novaceanu] What was the beginning of the revolution like?

[Roman] I can tell you that from the afternoon of 21 December, when I realized that we were confronted by a criminal maneuver by the dictator, I was determined to do something.

[Novaceanu] But did you previously believe that such a thing would be possible?

[Roman] Yes. I believed that you could sense that this crisis was coming, and this worried me. Fortunately, this crisis was not anarchy but a revolution.

[Novaceanu] Following the first few weeks, what were the most critical moments which Romania has experienced?

[Roman] The critical moments were, first, those which endangered the victory of the revolution. Then came the surprise of 12 January (the day when thousands of Romanians demonstrated in order to demand the restoration of the death penalty and the banning of the Communist Party), which in fact revealed to us that the dross accumulated in people's hearts and minds over so many decades could not be eliminated purely and simply by a mere process of smelting it in the heat of the revolution. Later, there were critical moments when the so-called historical parties forced the revolution's hand.

[Novaceanu] It has been commented in some Western news media that the revolution was the result of an organized plot.

[Roman] It really was foreseeable that an explosion could occur, but it is quite out of the question that such an action could have been organized, bearing in mind the scale of the repressive apparatus' organization. Purely and simply, it was not true. The idea that it was not a spontaneous movement is still being aired in the West, but, between the two of us, let me say that I believe that they are rather jealous. Well, well, sir, these Romanians, who, in our opinion, were good-for-nothings for so long, have finally achieved the most wonderful thing in the world! There is a touch of envy, of jealousy....

[Novaceanu] Do you believe that the world admires Romania right now?

[Roman] Unfortunately, I could not say so, because there is still suspicion. There is still a great deal of fear, and there are also those (not many, of course,) who believe that there is no openness in our actions, although in fact it is solely a matter of our inability to make our work known. There was admiration during the first few weeks, but later political options, old resentments, and—it pains me to admit it—very many personal ambitions intervened.

[Novaceanu] Right now, does the government feel like a united team?

[Roman] Yes! The government is a united team because the foundations on which it was set up are sound and realistic.

[Novaceanu] What role do you attribute to the newly formed parties with respect to the smooth progress of the revolution?

[Roman] So far their positive role has not manifested itself greatly—possibly within the framework of the Provisional Council's Executive Bureau. It is my wish that these parties assist the enactment of measures which are absolutely necessary for the economy. [passage omitted]

[Novaceanu] Do you believe that Romania's dialogue with Spain is of particular importance right now?

[Roman] Yes, I believe that the dialogue is very important, because, in my opinion, there are political similarities between Spain and Romania. Both countries experienced a lengthy period of dictatorship. Spain succeeded in switching to democracy, and succeeded in doing so fully, since it also met the economic challenge. We must understand how the Spanish people achieved something so decisive for modern history. I would like to convey a message from all the Romanian people and our desire to cooperate with Spain, because we have very real prospects.

[Novaceanu] Let us return to Romania. We are now in spring, and agricultural work has begun. Will our agriculture fare well this year?

[Roman] We have everything in our favor. I am banking on the centuries-old—millenial, if you will—common sense of the Romanian peasants, because of their ability to perceive society's perennial sound values. I am convinced that 1990 will be a good year agriculturally.

[Novaceanu] Will even some of the destroyed villages be rebuilt?

[Roman] It is a matter of the peasants' personal choice. As far as we are concerned, we are willing and anxious to offer every encouragement, and even to grant credits for such actions.

[Novaceanu] Do you believe that it is opportune to destroy all the good points which cooperative agriculture has at present?

[Roman] It would be a mistake. I have tried to show that in the European countries there is no sound agriculture except in relatively large areas, and the most successful organizations are the cooperatives.

Of course the peasants' desire to have land must not be disregarded, but for the present the cooperatives remain in good health. So we have started a program whereby peasants can go to Western countries in order to see that the cooperatives there are real economic forces, and, in some places, owing to their strength, are also political forces.

Foodstuffs Exports Continue To Cross Border

AU1004184390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 3 Apr 90 p 3

[Editorial note: "Exports of Foodstuffs Continue"]

[Text] We were used to the all of the propaganda by Ceausescu in connection with "esports" [the way Ceausescu used to pronounce this word]. While we are not concerned about hardware any more (for did we not have the largest steel production per capita in the world?), we ask ourselves: What has happened to the government's promise not to export foodstuffs? From the "arrival and departure schedule and destination charts" for April 1990 we learn that, apart from all sorts of plastic items, aggregates, and cisterns which will transit the Falciu railway station, canned meat and canned vegetables with meat, as well as a new item—"export cans"—will also cross the border. (This charade reminds us of Ceausescu's methods, and not even children can be cheated, let alone the Moldavian rail workers)....

Residents' Proposals After Tirgu Mures Events

AU0604151190 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 28 Mar 90 p 2

[Editorial: "Proposals by Sibiu Residents to the PNUC and to the Government"]

[Text] A few days ago, the residents of Sibiu Municipality gathered in a mass rally, organized by the local branch of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union, in order to affirm their determination and will to defend the national identity of the homeland and the unity and integrity of our ancient land.

During this rally, an appeal to the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] was adopted, which, among other things, includes the following demands:

1. Through a provisional normative act the rights, freedoms, and duties of citizens who belong to ethnic minorities must be urgently settled in order to avoid the confusion caused by excessive demands and to eliminate the phenomenon of exacerbating nationalism and tendencies to take some arbitrary and unjust measures at the local level. This act should stipulate the following:
a. The Romanian language is the only official language of the unitary Romanian state;
b. The right of national minorities to cultivate their traditions, habits, arts, and literature in an unhampered way in no way means that there should be special privileges, isolation, and separatism, that is, phenomena that can lead to new actions of incitement that generate violence;
c. The appointment and promotion to administrative and managerial offices, admission to schools and universities, and employment in some specialized positions in all areas should be done exclusively in accordance with competence and value, and not according to nationality.

2. The investigation commission that was set up to clarify the causes of the events in Tirgu Mures should carry out its proceedings most objectively and with maximum exactingness. All those who incited, provoked, and carried out acts of violence in the town of Tirgu Mures, in Mures County, Harghita County, Covasna County, and in other places should be identified, handed over to the legal bodies, and punished in an exemplary way.
3. The public should get official and timely information about all these matters.
4. Likewise, an end should be put to the paternal calls for conciliation and tolerance on both sides. There will be no conciliation as long as the instigators are moving freely among us, as long as acts of violence are carried out without being stopped, and as long as those who are guilty of these crimes and public offenses are not punished.
5. The Hungarian Government should be requested to desolidarize itself from and condemn all the reprovable actions that were carried out by Hungarian citizens who entered Romania on 15 March. Likewise, it should be firmly requested that an end be put to all interference in our domestic affairs and to the revanchist and revisionist propaganda against Romania.
6. The government, the Education Ministry, and other bodies should no longer issue hasty decrees and stipulations before they get to know the entire, actual situation on the spot.
7. We suggest that Romania's national holiday should certainly be the most sacred day for all Romanians throughout the country, the day when the great unification was achieved—1 December.

Roman Discusses Tirgu Mures Events

AU1004172990 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 3 Apr 90 p 4

["Corneliu Antim article: "New Remarks by the Prime Minister About Tirgu Mures"]

[Text] After visiting a few counties in Transylvania, yesterday, 2 April, a number of foreign reporters asked Prime Minister Roman to explain a few things in connection with the recent events in this part of the country. In connection with some demands for autonomy, requested especially by the Hungarians in Transylvanian settlements, he emphasized that, concerning self-administration there is a problem at the national level. Administrative decentralization and local autonomy are a long-term concern of the government, and exceptions or preferential treatment are not possible. As far as—what one reporter called—"linguistic autonomy" is concerned, the prime minister stressed that it is not a new thing, that it exists even today, only that it is more difficult to give concrete shape to a number of demands of an urgent nature—at least in the eyes of the representatives of the Hungarian people. The measures taken do not aim at improvised solutions, but at lasting ones in accordance with the spirit of freedom affirmed throughout this period by the country's whole population. The creation of a "university in the Hungarian language" in Romania is a suggestion unequalled in other countries in Europe and, for the time being, it—as well as a schooling system exclusively in the Hungarian language—does not constitute a realistic solution and thus will not contribute to the relaxation of inter-ethnic disparities.

In connection with how the governmental and local authorities, as well as the Army, acted during the events in Tirgu Mures, the prime minister assessed the activity of the special commission that came to Tirgu Mures positively. He emphasized that the operativeness and effectiveness of some decisions made by the military commanders, who had taken up positions, may be the subject of a more careful and critical examination but that, generally speaking, the Army acted in accordance with its tasks and the principles of nonviolent involvement which were affirmed during the December revolution. Actually, the prime minister took this opportunity to say that in a few days Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council, would be present among the Mures residents, thus proving the constant interest in the situation in that area. In the same context, he emphasized the extremist maneuvers in one camp, and the other, which led to a violent confrontation between the two ethnic groups, who up to then had been on the same side of the barricade in the revolt against the dictatorship. The forces of some nationalist parties in Hungary, who had come to Romania on the eve of the events, as well as the peripheral pro-communist elements, which are still practicing diversion within the country, may be one of the causes that continue to threaten democracy and political stability in Romania.

Kiraly Says Truth To Emerge on Tirgu Mures

AU0604182490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1508 GMT 6 Apr 90

["Transylvania: Karol Kiraly: 'Sooner or Later Reason Prevails'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—In an interview with the Bucharest newspaper ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO published on 5 April, Mr. Karol Kiraly, vice-president of the Provisional National Unity Council Executive Bureau, is of the opinion that the early success of the "anti-Hungarian campaign" was due to the lack of a correct information of the population of the country about the legitimate claims of the minorities, about the chronology of the recent events in Tirgu Mures and about the forces that were behind them.

"Such tactics the basis of which is misinformation cannot succeed in the long range", "sooner or later reason prevails", he says adding that to a large extent "that has already happened", the Governmental Commission, and the Police Force sent there having done "a good job in every respect".

"I am confident that the report of the above-mentioned commission which is being drafted", said Mr. Kiraly, "will disclose the details, and establish the responsabilities in agreedment with the truth".

Electoral Bureau Chief Reviews Duties

AU0504111590 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 30 Mar 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Central Electoral Bureau President Ovidiul Zarnescu by Corina Dragotescu; place and date not given: "Competence, Prerogatives, Other Useful Information"]

[Text] [ADEVARUL] The electoral campaign and the preparation of the elections are becoming the main issues in the process of consolidating Romanian democracy. The supreme referee of the correct unfolding of these elections is the Central Electoral Bureau [CEB]. We asked CEB President Mr. Ovidiul Zarnescu a few questions in connection with the composition and purpose of this organization.

One should point out from the start, Mr. Zarnescu told us, that only the judges that will belong to this bureau have been elected so far. The law stipulates that the CEB should consist of 7 judges of the Supreme Court of Justice and 10 representatives of the political parties and formations. In its current composition, the CEB is fulfilling all its incumbent duties, until the representatives of the political parties and formations join it; this process will take place after the expiration of the deadline for filing candidates and for solving various objections that may arise in this respect. However, the CEB must be filled with representatives of the political parties and formations by the beginning of May, at the latest.

[Dragotescu] What are the main CEB prerogatives, given the fact that it will play the most important role in properly organizing the elections, counting the votes, and releasing the final results of the 20 May elections?

[Zarnescu] The CEB supervises the drawing up of the electoral lists and their public dissemination, settles various objections that might arise in connection with the formation and composition of constituency electoral bureaus, and receives proposals for the office of president of Romania.

After the expiration of the deadline for filing candidates for the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate and the deadline for solving various objections, the CEB will receive from the constituency electoral bureaus the final list of candidates; the political parties and formations will officially brief it on the number of lists that remained final. In its turn, the CEB will make known the sequence in which candidacies for the office of president will be entered on the ballots, something that will be decided by drawing lots. In short, these are some of the CEB's duties until 20 May, after which it will have to check and register the election results.

[Dragotescu] We know that the action of receiving electoral emblems from various formations was concluded a few days ago. What is the significance of these emblems? Is participation in the elections made conditional upon the existence of electoral emblems?

[Zarnescu] Indeed, the CEB has also had the task of receiving the electoral emblems of political parties and formations and of independent candidates. These emblems help the electorate to identify their electoral choice faster. They are, so to say, more of a symbol, rather than a way of hampering the participation in the elections. Proof of it is the fact that not all political parties and formations or all independent candidates have electoral emblems. This does not prevent them from filing lists of candidates or running on an individual basis.

[Dragotescu] What happens when the same emblem is proposed by several political parties and formations or by individual candidates?

[Zarnescu] In that case, one would have to draw lots. However, some parties have taken precautionary steps and presented two electoral emblems, asking us to register the second sign when the first one appears to have been advanced by another party or independent candidate. We accepted this, as it does not run counter to the electoral law.

The CEB will ensure the public dissemination of the final electoral emblems on the second day after the government decides on and publishes the ballot pattern in the OFFICIAL MONITOR.

[Dragotescu] In conclusion, we would like you to tell us your new address, given that CEB has recently moved from the Central Court of Justice.

[Zarnescu] With pleasure. As of today, we operate from the headquarters of the former Central Committee, Onesti Street, entrance B, third floor.

[Dragotescu] Thank you.

Silent Majority Seen Deciding Election

AU1004143690 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 6 Apr 90 p 2

[Paul Dobrescu article: "The Bustle of Electoral Alliances"]

[Text] A bustle of action and surprise initiatives can be felt in the life of political parties and in political activity in general. This week, discussions are being held between the National Liberal Party, the National Peasant Party-Christian and Democratic, and the Social Democratic Party. The possibility of a cartel is out of the question; discussions are being held only on the subject of adopting a "nonaggression pact"—that is, mutually foregoing criticism and attacks during the campaign. The NSF [National Salvation Front] is about to establish

electoral agreements with a considerable number of smaller or larger political groups.

In the country's political center, things are more whirling. Here no party is seriously detached from the other ones in order to make up the nucleus of the future coalition. As it generally happens in such cases, vanity prevails. "We are waiting for others to come to us" is the reply one can hear in various ways, each of them believing itself more important than the potential partner. So far, only the alliance between the Party of Democratic Union and the Liberal (Liberty) Party in Romania is certain, because it provides for joint lists of candidates and a joint platform. Several centrist parties (23 groups) are about to set up an electoral cartel called the Group of the Central Democratic Parties.

At the headquarters of the Democratic and Christian Union, we were told that yesterday [5 April] 14 groups had already shown interest in the appeal issued by this party the day before. Now discussions will have to focus on the possibility of setting up an anticommunist coalition in Romania, a coalition which could mean setting up some joint lists of candidates. The alliances are accelerated also by the intensive activity of some unauthorized people, who have no special prerogatives, who walk around, probe, and sometimes even make discrete proposals (just like in soccer). Even if they do not bring about agreements, still they prepare the ground.

In the system of electoral alliances, an important role—more important than it would seem at first—will be played by the groups that were set up based on national criteria, because they have a considerable amount of supporters. The unions of national minorities have been set up in a cartel with other center leftist groups. "Vatra Romaneasca" branches in large towns in the country claim that this movement's supporters are not only very numerous, but their number is increasing continuously. There are many voices that grant this group a role of utmost importance in the victory of one alliance or another.

Political parties themselves are still not very powerful. The same thing can be said about alliances, too. Now it is decisive to see in what direction the sympathy of the voters will turn—specifically, those voters who have not yet formulated and have not yet affirmed their political choices. According to certain evaluations, between 30 to 40 percent of the national population is in a state of expectancy, in strategic reserve. Therefore, so far it seems that the elections will be determined mostly by the party "of those without a party" and by the sympathy that alliances will receive, instead of by the total number of supporters.

Parties Elect Leaders, Present Platforms

AU1004113290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0928 GMT 10 Apr 90

["Election Campaign—The Competition's High Temperature"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 104/1990—Almost three weeks after the start of the election campaign for Romania's parliament and president, the parties and political organizations have crystalized their positions for the 20 May poll. More than 70 parties officially registered voted their leaders during all-country meetings and clearly defined their political programmes-platforms.

Among the first political organizations that held all-country conferences are the historical parties the National Christian Democratic Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party during which the parties' steering committees and leaders were elected: Corneliu Coposu and Radu Campeanu respectively. Subsequently, the two political organizations nominated their candidates to presidency: the National Peasant Party with Ion Ratiu, president of the World Union of Free Romanians, now in Romania after a 50-year exile, and the National Liberal Party with Radu Campeanu, PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] vice-chairman. Another historical party the Social Democratic Party concluded Sunday its national conference and elected Sergiu Cunescu its leader, but making their option for Mr. Radu Campeanu as candidate to presidency.

A "non-aggression" pact is to be observed during the election campaign among the three "traditional" parties, as well as an understanding to support the best placed candidate after the first poll.

The previous days, the attention of public opinion was arrested by the all-country conference of the National Salvation Front considered the most powerful political force in the country. Ion Iliescu was voted leader of that political organization and nominated candidate to presidency. Practically speaking, with its one million members the National Salvation Front stands at the top of the list of political organizations to run the elections.

An illustration of the attempt to rally political forces is the electoral cartel that gathers 14 centre democratic parties. The cartel is to present a common list of candidates in all constituencies. Some parties in the electoral cartel intend to support the candidacy to presidency of Mr. Ion Iliescu.

Election Will Cost Over 130 Million Lei

AU1004114190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0939 GMT 10 Apr 90

["Electoral Campaign: How Much Will the Electoral Campaign Cost?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/4/1990—The Romanian Government will spend over 130 million lei to ensure the holding in good conditions of the elections on May 20 as well as 400,000 dollars to acquire modern equipment to facilitate the operative recording and transmission of the poll results, Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman announced at a press conference.

The subventions alloted by the parties engaged in the electoral campaign will add to that sum.

Election Campaign on Arad TV Station Noted

AU0504150290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1445 GMT 5 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/4/1990—Registered on 1 February 1990, the Arad Television Station is the first outside Bucharest to have been issued a license to broadcast. With a staff of four and 19 outside consultants, the Arad station manages a highly diversified four-hour-a-week programme that is very popular.

With the election campaign in full swing, the Arad Television Station has started a "political parties about themselves" programme that introduces many local movements, associations, parties and independent candidates to the public.

Ecological Movement Holds National Conference

AU0604182590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1506 GMT 6 Apr 90

["Party Life: National Conference of Romania's Ecological Movement"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—The first national conference of Romania's Ecological Movement started Friday 6 April in Bucharest.

For two days, representatives across the country of this pacifist movement will exchange opinions on major economic, scientific, social, moral-cultural themes related to the restoration and the maintenance of the ecological balance, pollution control of the environment. The conference agenda also includes the finishing touches to be put to the movement's statute and electoral platform its election strategy, the creation of the territorial council and designation of more members for the movement's steering committee.

Hungarian Union To Hold Congress 21-22 Apr

AU0604192790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1611 GMT 6 Apr 90

["Transylvania: DUHR Congress at Oradea on 21 and 22 April"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [DUHR] did not back the Provisional National Unity Council's suggestion to choose between Miercurea Ciuc and Bucharest as the venue for its congress instead of Oradea.

A statement sent to ROMPRES on the 5 April meeting of the Presidium of the DUHR All-Country Provisional Executive Committee says that "the suggestion was carefully considered": "on the basis of a real evaluation of the situation, and of the state of the preparations" for the congress, the Presidium "has come to the conclusion that a change of the venue is unjustified, and the suggestion was turned down with a majority of votes".

Furthermore, the decision was upheld concerning the date of the congress—21-22 April—that the 29 March meeting made in the wake of the tragic events at Tirgu Mures, which postponed the congress initially called for 7-8 April.

"The presidium proclaims" the statement says "that its intention is to make this congress a forum for reconciliation with the Romanian people, and of mutual respect wherefore it launches an appeal to all political, social and cultural organizations, movements and parties to work together with us to make this wish come true and prove to the whole world the stability of the domestic situation and the progress made in democratizing the country".

In the same document, the Presidium announces its intention to call a conference with political parties the theme of which is a fair election campaign with respect for the principles of political pluralism.

In an interview with the ROMANIAN MAGYAR SZO daily published on 5 April, Mr. Kiraly Karoly said that Oradea where "external factors might perturb the work" was not the best place for the DUHR congress and opted for Miercurea Ciuc instead.

Democratic Peasants Party Nominates Ratiu

AU0604202590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1940 GMT 6 Apr 90

["Election Campaign: Another Candidate for the Presidency of Romania: Ion Ratiu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—Meeting on 6 April, the National Christian and Democratic Peasant Party decided to nominate Mr. Ion Ratiu, president of the World Union of Free Romanians, its candidate for the presidency of Romania in the election of 20 May. The decision was announced by the party's secretary, Ion Lup, at a press conference with Romanian and foreign journalists.

During the press conference, Ion Ratiu answered questions showing that should he be elected president of Romania, he would promote the National Christian and Democratic Peasant Party policy which "aims to restore Romania to democracy".

Mr. Ion Ratiu also said that if he became president of the country he would not run for the presidency of the World Union of Free Romanians any more.

Popilean Nominated Republican Party Candidate

AU1004190190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1705 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/4/1990—The fourth candidate for Romania's presidency is economist Gheorghe Popilean, president of the Christian Republican Party which assesses that it has 200,000 adherents.

He was unanimously nominated by the national convention of that party held in Bucharest today.

The convention elected the national council, approved the platform-programme and the statute of the party, and decided not to adhere to any coalition with any political grouping, intending, as reads a communique, to take part in the election campaign loyally, in a spirit of justice vis-a-vis all the other parties, groupings and independent candidates, its sole aim being the establishment of an authentic democracy.

We mention that the other three candidates for Romania's presidency are the leaders: of the National Salvation Front Ion Iliescu, the National Liberal Party Radu Campeanu (for whom the Social Democratic Party also opted) and the president of the World Union of Free Romanians nominated by the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party.

16-21 December Association Splits Up

AU1004191690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1707 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/4/1990—The "21 December Bucharest" Association dissociates itself from another association "16-21 December" because the latter turned the meeting held in Piata Unirii of Bucharest on Sunday into an electoral meeting.

This is the reason for which the "21 December - Bucharest" Association left the meeting, explains a communique relayed to ROMPRES news agency by the chairman of that organization, after it had accepted to attend "in conditions in which it should have pursued the stepping up and consolidation of democracy and not electoral purposes."

Journalists Protest Press Restrictions

AU1004171790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1556 GMT 10 Apr 90

["Mass Media: Journalists' Protest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/4/1990—An energetic protest against the present restrictive practices as regards the freedom of the press and several-point claims were addressed to the Provisional National Unity Council and to the government by the participants in an all-country meeting organized under the aegis of the journalists' society of Romania.

Protesting against the limitation of the circulation of publications the journalists request that that measure should be reconsidered and that the periodicalness and number of copies should be of the competence of each publication. They insist that the printing industry should ensure the necessary space and the Ministry of Culture should give up obstructive practices in distributing paper or in granting it preferentially. Concomitantly, the price of paper should be frozen at the present level, exports should be ceased and imports should be resorted to. For a prompt distribution of the press the newspaper stands should be subordinated to the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications.

Among the claims worth mentioning are the abrogation of the press law considered anachronical and obsolete, the decentralization of the printing industry and the stepping up of the conclusion of contracts between printing houses and publishers, the reequipment of the printing industry by importing installations a.o.

The signatories of the protest warn that if their claims are not solved until 18 April they will resort to all specific means of protest.

Journalists Criticize 'Nondemocratic' Attitude

AU1004194690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1800 GMT 10 Apr 90

["Mass Media: The Journalists' Society Protests"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/4/1990—The Provisional Council of the Journalists' Society of Romania energetically condemns the government's attitude of deliberately limiting the freedom of the press, and makes known that, ever since the end of January, during an interview with Mr. Ion Iliescu and Mr. Petre Roman, the journalists' representatives have called their attention on the need to urgently take measures for the ensurance of paper and of means for the printing and dissemination of the press. In full election campaign and in full process of democratization, it has been foreseeable for any man of good faith that the number of publications and their copies will increase with every passing day, shows the protest of the Journalists' Society sent for publication to the news agency ROMPRES. After the publications of various parties have been obstructed in various ways, now both the independent and the private press is in an intolerable situation.

The protest also underlines that, by taking no imperative measures and by making an obviously arbitrary decision, without consulting the Council of the Journalists' Society, the government has taken a nondemocratic attitude toward the press, deliberately stifling its freedoms and implicitly violating the right to the circulation of information guaranteed under the UN Charter. We call on all the international organizations to back us in our fight for liberty and truth, the document shows in conclusion.

Subsidies for Minorities' Publications

AU0304165290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1517 GMT 3 Apr 90

["Mass Media—Romania: Subsidies for the National Minorities' Publications"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/4/1990—The Romanian Government authorized the Ministry of Culture to subsidize the publications of the national minorities in an attempt to make up for losses caused by the low number of copies, which is commensurate with the low number of people who know the respective languages until a way to render the respective publications profitable is found.

The subsidies will be granted from the surplus publications of the Ministry of Culture, which means that the state budget will not be affected.

Premier Roman Visits Bacau Units

AU0504181090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1726 GMT 5 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/4/1900—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman travelled on Thursday 5 April to Bacau in northeast Romania to discuss economic, cultural and social questions with county officials.

He told a meeting with members of the board of administration and trade union leaders of the aviation enterprise that the government would support any initiative to use modern technology in the Romanian aviation industry. The idea of resuming cooperation with the French industry for the manufacture of super-Puma helicopters was encouraged because working with renowned firms could only bring benefits, it was said.

Growing economic efficiency and a broad international cooperation were discussed also at the garment enterprise which has actually been working very well with reputed West German, French and Italian companies. The prime minister agreed that wages ought to be higher in the clothing industry and gave assurances that the existing possibilities would be studied.

Mr Petre Roman also met with professors and representatives of the students of the local college of engineering where the question of a local university was raised to train young people in such fields as machine-building, aviation fine mechanics, power engineering, informations. Since the faculties of information science and economics could not function at Bacau for lack of teachers, and in consideration of the fact that a transition to a market economy depended first of all on personnel training, the prime minister suggested that associate professors from other universities be invited to train both teachers and students in such areas as industrial management, business and trade management.

Later in the day the prime minister met at the city hall with representatives of the 17 local newspapers in a press conference.

Foreign Affairs Ministry Press Center Opens

AU0604193190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1603 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—The Foreign Affairs Ministry opened, on 6 April in Bucharest, a Press Centre which shares the building with the Foreign Press Club.

The attendance included representatives of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, ROMPRES, Radiotelevision and editorial boards of Romanian newspapers, as well as foreign correspondents accredited in Romania.

Mr. Romulus Neagu, the Foreign Affairs Ministry's official spokesman said in his address that the centre is part of the measures aimed at implementing the Romanian Government's policy of permanently and truthfully informing public opinion at home and abroad about the events in Romania. This measure, he said, adds to the government's effort to set its relationship with the Romanian and foreign press on a new basis, to give free and as broad as possible access to information about the Romanian state's home and foreign policies. He stressed that, along with the centre, other information media existed—the press and the spokesmen for the administration, the government and central institutions.

All foreign correspondents accredited in Romania take part in the activity of the centre which is set on a permanent basis.

Agriculture Minister Stefan Visits Israel

AU0304175690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1719 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/4/1990—A Romanian delegation led by Professor Nicolae Stefan, minister of agriculture and the food industry, paid a fact-finding visit to Israel late in March upon an invitation extended by the Israeli Government.

They conducted talks on the expansion of production, technical and scientific cooperation in agriculture and the food industry and signed the sanitary-veterinary and the phyto-sanitary conventions between the two countries in an attempt at encouraging exchanges of reproduction breeds, and vegetables and cereals seeds boasting a high biological value, as well as commercial exchanges of foodstuffs.

UNICEF Delegation Visits Bucharest

AU0604182690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1512 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—A UNICEF delegation led by Mr. Gullmar Andersson, director of the Emergency Unit, are visiting Romania. The delegation includes June Jolly, a pediatrician, and Michel Chauliac, from the Paris-based International Children's Centre. The guests had several meetings with relevant Bucharest organizations during which they discussed the situation

of orphanages and creches, the difficult condition of handicapped children, the shortage of medical staff and educators, and urgent demands for medicines, food and medical equipment.

Members of the delegation also had working meetings with government members and with Romanian Red Cross experts.

Coposu, Hungary's Dezso on Minorities' Rights

AU0704170090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1632 GMT 7 Apr 90

["Stand of the NPPCD and the Hungarian People's Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/4/1990—The visiting chairman of the Hungarian People's Party, Laszlo Dezso, was received by Corneliu Coposu, president of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [NPPCD]. The communique on the talks, published in "DREPTATEA" of 7 April, expresses "satisfaction that the ideals and doctrines of the two parties are very much alike, each of them drawing its inspiration from the great trend of old European tradition of Christian democracy.

The Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [NPPCD] the communique reads sets its policy vis-a-vis the ethnic minorities on the 1 December 1918 resolution of Alba Iulia which ensures full rights and freedoms to all the Hungarians in Romania and pursues the building of a society without discriminations and privileges, of full equality among all citizens.

As far as it is concerned, the Hungarian People's Party is of the opinion that all the problems of the minority Hungarian population in Romania can be solved within the general process of reestablishing an authentic democracy in Romania, in a gradual manner, in a calm atmosphere, excluding any rash and ostentatious actions, any extremist, abusive or provocative actions, the communique also reads, specifying in conclusion:

The two parties are of the opinion that by approaching the questions concerning the relations between the Romanians and the Hungarians in Romania in a Christian-democratic and humanistic spirit appropriate solutions will be found so that, in understanding and mutual respect, a climate of cooperation and friendship among all the citizens of the country should be ensured.

Celac on Foreign Policy, European Ties

AU0704170190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1635 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/4/1990—In an exclusive interview with the daily "ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO" of 7 April, Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac speaks about the major changes in Romanian foreign policy after the December revolution and outlines Romania's position on major international questions.

Romania aims to become wide open to the world, to Europe first of all by resuming normal, traditional links with the values of European civilization, the Romanian foreign minister stressed.

On the policy with Third World countries, Sergiu Celac said that Romania and those states had a number of problems in common so it would continue its close cooperation with them at the United Nations and in other international fora. However, our aim is to put an end to outdated practices that were damaging to the Romanian economy and set the relations with all developing countries on mutual advantage which is the only realistic basis. The minister also said that there were no negative factors in Romania's relations with Arab countries, and the highly constructive talk with Egypt's President Husni Mubarak in Windhoek during Namibia's independence celebrations was a landmark in that respect.

On the Romanian Government's position on German unification Sergiu Celac said: The unification of the two Germanys concerns the Germans themselves; we think that the negotiations and the eventual understandings should give proper security guarantees to countries neighbouring on the future united Germany, Poland first of all; and we recognise and respect the special prerogatives of the four powers until agreement is reached and legally sanctioned by a document that should be confirmed by a summit conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

Speaking about Romania's view of the recent developments in Eastern Europe, the minister said: I can see no reason why I should advise the government to change its position clearly stated in the early days after revolution, namely Romania's determination to respect its internationally valid commitments, including those deriving from its Warsaw Treaty and CMEA membership.

The next section of the interview covers the state and prospects of the Romanian-Hungarian relations on which Sergiu Celac said:

The talks I held in Bucharest with my colleague Gyula Horn were marked by a constructive approach and a normal tone. They covered a wide range of problems.

We are at a very advanced stage in preparing a package of major constructive and realistic actions in our relations with the Republic of Hungary. We may take some of the suggestions of the Hungarian side on a higher plane. As we have already said, we will be ready to make our proposals to the Hungarian Government when it is formed after the free elections.

There have been asperities, why not say it, in our relations lately. We understand that certain statements and actions of Hungarian officials with state responsibilities were a bit too much emotionally motivated by the election campaign.

The Romanian Government is determined, and I myself am committed, to take action toward a substantive improvement of the relations between Romania and Hungary. Now, and in the long range. We wish these neighbourly relations to be good neighbourly relations between two civilized European states founded on mutual respect and good faith.

Asked to say whether the Government of Romania recognised the right of Hungary "to take care" of the Hungarians who live in the territory of Romania, the Romanian minister stated:

During the Bucharest talks colleague Gyula Horn and I clearly agreed that no civilized European state can claim the right politically to represent the citizens of another state.

Campeanu Visits North Moldavian Counties

AU0704191690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1820 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/4/1990—Mr Radu Campeanu, vice-president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], chairman of the National Liberal Party [NLP] and a candidate for the presidency of Romania, paid a short visit, Saturday 7 April, to the city of Bacau. At the PNUC county headquarters he was told what the economic structure of the county was like. Speaking about the ways that the NLP saw for transition to the market economy and how privatization was to be achieved, Mr Radu Campeanu said that people had to be sent abroad to specialize in economic management.

Along with production, other questions were taken up such as unemployment, the Romanians' relations with the Hungarians and other ethnic minorities, the position of certain states to Romania.

In a meeting with the press, Mr Campeanu said in reference to the measures conceived and initiated by the NLP to speed up the process of democratization in Romania: "There is something frail about people who wish democracy, but do not know what exactly to do to get it. When we all know to state our opinions peacefully, in a battle of ideas not of persons, the germs of true democracy will have appeared".

In the evening, Mr Radu Campeanu arrived at Piatra Neamt where he discussed with the PNUC leadership of Neamt County and met with NLP supporters.

Socialist International Delegation Arrives

AU1004171590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1554 GMT 10 Apr 90

["Interviews, Statements—Peter Jankowitsch: Romania is Heading Towards a Multi-Party Democracy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/4/1990—My visit to Romania falls within the process the Socialist International [SI] has initiated of getting acquainted with the new realities in Central and Eastern Europe, stated Peter Jankowitsch, head of a delegation of that organization now on a visit to Romania.

He added that at the end of the visit the delegation would draw the necessary conclusions regarding the modalities in which the Socialist International can actively support the process of democratization and establishment of pluralism in Romania in a spirit of solidarity.

Summing up his impressions after two days in Romania, the representative of the Socialist International opined that this was a country in full evolution, with a society in full evolution which is heading towards a pluralist-type democracy. We have expressed our wish closely to cooperate with all the Romanian democratic forces, with the social democratic party in particular, he also said.

Mr Jankowitsch informed journalists that yesterday the leaders of the three historic parties officially requested the Socialist International to send observers for the 20 May elections in Romania.

Meets Roman

AU1004184190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1711 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/4/1990—Tuesday morning [10 April], Prime Minister Petre Roman received a delegation of the Socialist International led by Mr. Peter Jankowitsch, deputy, former foreign affairs minister of Austria. The delegation also includes representatives of socialist parties of Austria, France, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden.

Mr. Petre Roman set forth the main objectives of the economic programme of the government, stressing the measures and initiatives taken to update industry, retechnologize certain productive sectors, decentralize activity and ensure the autonomy of enterprises, to stimulate production in agriculture and farmers, to increase profitability, maintain budgetary, monetary and foreign currency balance, to gradually pass on to a market economy. At the same time, it was shown that on a social plane the government's fundamental option had been the improvement of the population's standard of living.

During the talks Mr. prime minister also emphasized the government's concern to ensure the fundamental human rights and freedoms, full equality of rights of all the citizens of the country, be they Romanians, Hungarians, Germans or other nationalities, in the spirit of the democratic principles and values proclaimed by the December 1989 revolution.

Mr. Petre Roman also referred to the preparation and unfolding of the election campaign, to the need to reach a national consensus on the major questions related to

the country's development, the ensurance of political pluralism as an essential element of democracy.

Defense Minister Stanculescu Visits USSR

AU1004202190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, Romania's national defense minister, visited the Soviet Union yesterday and today as head of a military delegation.

On this occasion, the Romanian minister met and conducted talks with the defense minister of the Soviet Union, Army General Dimitriy Yazov, and with the chief commander of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, Army General Lushev. The two sides discussed problems of mutual interest and current aspects of bilateral cooperation.

Bratianu Asks King Mihai To Postpone Visit

AU0904201890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Undated letter from Bratianu Liberal Union President Ion I. Bratianu to King Mihai]

[Text] To His Majesty King Mihai:

Your Majesty, the spiritual nobility and moral responsibility of the Hohenzollern Sigmaringen family have marked a few crucial times in the tumultuous history of the Romanian people in the past century.

Your Majesty's very withdrawal at a crucial time for our nation proved profound empathy. I understand your anxiety and I know that your choosing holy Easter is to symbolize a great holiday.

Your Majesty, the wounds of the Romanians and of the country have not healed yet. The emotions cultivated by the dictator and dictatorship are still troubling the minds of some people; they are still trying to find their way.

I am sure that the lucidity and prudence that have characterized you as a young prince and monarch will make you rightly understand my appeal to see Romania again after the elections in order to avoid unpredictable consequences for the very effervescent social political trend that characterizes this period.

Let the people consolidate this young and frail democracy.

Rest assured that thus you will be welcomed with the kindest hospitality that traditionally characterizes our nation. This is conveyed to you by a Romanian by the name of Bratianu who strongly harbors the consciousness of his forefathers who are the bearers of the message of freedom found again through prudence and calm.

I trust that my message will reach Your Majesty in time.

With great respect and special consideration.

King Mihai: No Contacts With Political Figures

AU1004200090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Close and trustworthy sources have informed ROMPRES that the former King of Romania, Mihai Hohenzollern, has voiced his intention to pay a strictly private visit to Romania to spend the Easter holiday here.

The same sources announce that during his stay in Romania, the former sovereign does not desire any contact with political figures, groups, or parties, but that he desires contacts with people in towns and villages.

He wants this visit to take place in a quiet and calm atmosphere. At the same time, it is specified that the guest is open to any dialogue with the press, which supported the revolution in Romania, and desires cooperation so that it may fulfill its duty commendably.

Over Easter, the former King intends to go discreetly to the tomb of his forefathers in Curtea de Arges.

The same sources, ROMPRES adds, also specified that King Mihai's arrival in Romania, together with his wife and Princess Margaret, is planned for 12 April.

Princess Elena has been in our country since Monday when she arrived with humanitarian aid from England.

Princess Sophia is also expected to arrive in Romania probably tomorrow.

LCY Central Committee Session Postponed

LD1004145490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Apr (Tanjug)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee [CC] session cannot be held on 14 April. The new date for the session will be set when all replies to the letter sent to the public and LCY members from the LCY CC working-consultative session are analyzed, today's statement notes. Here is the text of the statement:

At today's session, presided over by Milan Pancevski, the LCY CC Presidium analyzed the current political situation after the break-off of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress and following the working-consultative session of the LCY CC members, held on 30 March 1990.

Initiatives and proposals on how to find a way out of the situation in which the LCY finds itself today were considered, as well as how to achieve the democratic communication and cooperation that would contribute to the LCY's affirmation as a cohesive organization based on a new program and democratic foundations, the statement notes.

The session noted that the letter to the public and the LCY members from the working-consultative session had a widespread response and that a large number of citizens and LCY members contacted the LCY CC Presidium with their proposals and suggestions. Intensive work is being carried out on the classification of these proposals. However, due to a large number of letters and telegrams arriving daily, more time is needed for their clasification and analysis. Therefore, the Presidium noted that it was objectively impossible to prepare the 31st LCY CC session by 14 April.

The new date of the session will be determined when all replies to the letter to the public from the working-consultative session of LCY CC members and citizens are analyzed. The same session also will consider a full report about financial operations and the ways LCY CC funds were disposed of.

Skundric Discusses Multiparty System

LD0904122490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1115 GMT 9 Apr 90

["Skundric—Breaking Up the LCY (League of Communists of Yugoslavia) Is Breaking Up of Yugoslavia"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, April 9 (TANJUG)—the destruction and breaking up of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) is an indication of the breaking up of the state community into independent republican states and represents a serious threat to the state and social system, acting LCY Central Committee Presidency Secretary Petar Skundric told the Yugoslav daily BORBA in an interview published on Monday.

On the appearance of a large number of political parties in Yugoslavia, Skundric said that a modern federative state with a parliamentary democracy requires the existence of political parties "which surpass republican and national frameworks."

The insisting on parties only within a republic can mean nothing other than the definitive preparation of real state borders of the republics and of independent states, Skundric said.

The top LCY leadership has done everything necessary for the continuation of the interrupted 14th extraordinary party congress in late January but this was not enough because "consensus on every, even the smallest questions," started being insisted upon in some of the republics," Skundric said.

This, he said, is a campaign aimed at "preventing the survival of the party."

LCY Sends Ballot Paper to Public

AU0904200390

[Editorial Report] Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 5 April on page 7, Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian on 6 April on page 4, and Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian on 6 April on page 5 carry a ballot paper issued by the Central Committee [CC] Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] inviting the general public to express its views on the 14th congress and send them to the following address:

Presidium of LCY Central Committee,
Lenin Boulevard 6,
11070 New Belgrade

The ballot paper provides space for answers to the following:

"Name and Surname:
Address:
Member of League of Communists of Yugoslavia: Yes, No

My view:

1. Continuation of Congress: Yes, No
2. Other proposals:"

In addition to the ballot paper, POLITIKA also publishes the full text of the letter of the LCY CC issued at the last session of the CC.

Defense Ministry Notes Acquisition Plans

LD1104015190 Belgradle TANJUG in English 1811 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is the first and only country in Europe to have actually reduced by 11 percent its Armed Forces and is working to further reduce them, says the Yugoslav Defence Ministry in a

reply, made to the federal parliament today, to a delegate question on Yugoslavia's military spending.

The reply further stresses that all Western European countries, with the exception of Denmark, Luxembourg and Portugal, have bigger military outlays than those set aside by Yugoslavia for financing its armed forces. The other countries have reduced only the obsolete equipment and strategic surpluses, while still intensively working to develop new and highly sophisticated weapons, the ministry goes on to point out.

The ministry also says in the reply that it should be taken into account that Yugoslavia is a non-aligned country, and as such has a completely autonomous defense, whereas the bloc countries largely depend in their [word indistinct] on the potentials of the military blocs to which they belong.

There has been no decision to build a Yugoslav supersonic multipurpose war plane, it is set out in reply to another delegate question. The reply specifies, however, that as far back as 1984 the Yugoslav State Presidency took a positive stand on the proposal to build such a plane. On the basis of this stand, the Defence Ministry has worked out and adopted a programme for the implementation of this project, it is set out in the reply.

The defence further stresses in its reply to delegates' questions that the Yugoslav People's Army will need to introduce a new transport helicopter, but that the planned [word indistinct] of the craft does not justify an investment in their development.

Erzen Appointed Federal Internal Affairs Deputy

LD1004170390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1155 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Apr (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly's Elections and Appointments Commission today supported, by a majority vote, Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic's proposal that Ivan Erzen, the vice secretary —head of the Security Service in the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Slovenia—be appointed deputy federal secretary for internal affairs. [passage omitted]

Further on 8 Apr Slovene Elections

LD1004125290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1130 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 10 (TANJUG)—"Slovenes opted for a middle-of-the-road solution" and "reached a balance of sorts in the Presidency-Government-Parliament triangle, which does not provoke major political disturbances" and "lifts (?up) the earlier political blockades which were based on the well-known Bolshevik one-party system" at the first multi-Party elections in over 50 years in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia on Sunday, the Ljubljana daily DELO writes today.

Slovenia is "facing the creation of huge coalitions," the daily says, expressing hope that they would be efficient enough.

It is almost (?certain) that the four candidates for the Presidency of Slovenia have been elected.

The run-off election for the president of Slovenia will be held on April 22 between Communist candidate Milan Kucan, who won 44.5 per cent of the vote, and Dr Joze Pucnik, the candidate for the Demos opposition coalition, 26.6 per cent.

The League of Communists of Slovenia-Democratic Reform Party so far leads in the elections for the Republican parliament, ahead of the Liberal Party and the Christian Democrats.

The Yugoslav daily BORBA says that "over one-half of the voters who opted for Communist candidate Milan Kucan are neither members nor sympathizers of his party." The daily says that Kucan did not receive the votes as a communist, but—in Slovenes' view—as "the biggest protector of Slovene interests and the founder of Slovene statehood."

"Slovenia, seen in Yugoslavia as a right-wing region, still gave a huge number of votes to the Communist Party, believing in bona fide moves of Communist leaders," the Zagreb daily VJESNIK says today.

The Sarajevo daily OCBODJENJE says that the "skill of forming coalitions, in order to obtain a majority in parliament, will become a true test of democracy in Slovenia." The daily warns about the danger of a situation similar to the one in Italy a few years ago "when governments changed weekly and the country was almost paralyzed."

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES today underlines that the first mutli-party elections in Slovenia "demonstrated a high level of political awareness of Slovene citizens" and that they "were markedly democratic and free, without any serious incidents."

Vote Count Continuing

LD1004132390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Apr (TANJUG)—Today the electoral commissions in Slovenia are intensively counting the votes cast in the party elections in this republic on 8 April for the candidates in the Slovene Assembly Sociopolitical Chamber. The candidates for this chamber were listed on separate party and civic lists.

There are 13 political parties "competing," it is stressed, in addition to three civic lists and one list of individual candidates standing in the elections. The voting results for the Sociopolitical Chamber were only partly known at noon today. So far most votes have gone to the Slovene League of Communists-Party of Democratic Reform, the Liberal Party, Christian Democrats, and the

Greens. Judging by the tempo of collecting these details so far, it is unlikely that the final results will be known tonight.

Latest Give Demos 50.4 Percent

AU1004155690 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Joze Boncar-Stivan report from the Slovene Republican Election Commission]

[Text] First of all a warm greeting from the Republican Assembly Building where the Republican Election Commission has its headquarters. And now a few words about the results of the elections for the president of the Slovenia Presidency and the Presidency members of this republic.

As we have heard at a news conference conducted by Republican Election Commission President (Janzi Tomc), the final but unofficial results of the elections for the Presidency president and members may be announced in a few hours. It is clear even now that the runoff in the second round will be between Milan Kucan, candidate of the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]—Party of Democratic Reform and the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, and Joze Pucnik, candidate of Demos—United Opposition.

In addition to Ciril Zlobec and Ivan Oman, the Presidency members will most probably be Matjaz Kmecl and Dusan Plut.

In connection with the elections to the Sociopolitical Chamber of Slovenia, we read the following figures from the computer a few minutes ago:

According to the latest data, the LCS—Party of Democratic Reform has 17.90 percent of votes; the ZSMS [former initials of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation]—Liberal Party 15.74 percent of votes; Slovene Christian Democrats 13.80 percent of votes; and in fourth place, the Slovene Peasant Alliance has 11.84 percent of votes. According to the latest data, the Slovene Democratic Alliance has 9.66 percent of votes; and the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia has 7.15 percent of votes.

Since the last report at 1300 [1100 GMT], the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia or the Alliance of Socialists of Slovenia, also has won votes, to reach 5.13 percent. The Citizens Green List has 1.32 percent of votes.

Up to now, 470,080 votes have been counted. According to these results, Demos-United Opposition has as many as 54.50 percent of votes.

In conclusion, let me say that a campaigning truce is imposed on 11 April for the elections to the Associated Labor Chamber, which will be held on 12 April. The truce does not apply to the elections held so far, the elections for the Presidency president and members, and the elections to the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Republican Assembly.

This is all from the Republican Assembly for the time being.

Commentary on Results

AU1004180390 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Gojko Brvar commentary]

[Text] If the preelection opinion polls predicted the outcome of the presidential elections quite accurately—the largest error concerns Ivan Kramberger, who before the elections was predicted to win fewer votes, but at the elections probably took away votes from Pucnik—they risked much more in predicting the results of the elections to the Sociopolitical Chamber. In that case, two parallel and equal ways of voting were involved; the simpler part, the votes given for the lists, is probably now providing the first estimates before the official results are announced. The second part—the votes given to individual candidates, when (?a preferential) vote may pinch a small portion of support from a list—may introduce some surprises to the whole business.

The results that we last saw confirm the order of the candidates as envisioned by the latest poll carried out by the Public Opinion Research Center with a single exception, the exception being that the Slovene Socialist Alliance is now placed behind the two traditional parties, the Peasant Alliance and the Christian Democrats. This shows in its way that the poll sample in the countryside and in small towns, the traditional strongholds of these two parties, was not representative or that these two parties collected the votes of the undecided voters who preferred to back tested formulas and moderate currents in the election campaign. Here I have excluded the blunder connected with abortion.

According to the results so far, the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]—Party of Democratic Reform has upheld its own expectations. If it keeps the support of nearly one-fifth of the electorate, it will show that the Slovene Party's reform orientation is believed more by the people than the fallen East European regimes were believed. The Slovene Party nevertheless had to pay for its former monopoly of power.

The ZSMS [former initials of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation]—Liberal Party, which in the home stretch to the elections has lost initiative, introduced a moderate, cool-headed policy during the most fierce disputes in good time, and it has thus collected all the votes of the people disappointed with the bare-knuckled campaign fights.

As I have said, more votes to be counted may still put the things if not upside down, then at least in a considerably different position. It is clear, however, that one of the worst losers will be the Socialist Alliance. As late as last

December, it would have won 20 percent of the votes cast, but now it will be a miracle if it wins anything near a tenth. Probably it will have less than five percent, primarily because of its ambiguous position until almost the end.

Although Demos has not announced a coalition in the Sociopolitical Chamber, such a coalition is nevertheless possible, unless, of course, if Demos alone wins sufficient seats for a majority in all three chambers of the Assembly. In this case, it will be interesting to see how the new Slovene government will be formed. Particularly interesting will be the government program because many members of the Demos coalition—for instance the two that are strongest at the moment: the Slovene Peasant Alliance and the Christian Democrats—have no comprehensive social reform programs. Those who have such programs are the weaker members of the coalition.

Demos Maintains Lead

LD1004164690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Apr (TANJUG)—According to the latest data—on the basis of the 423,589 votes counted—the order of parties competing in the elections for deputies to the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovene Assembly is as follows: The Slovene League of Communists-Party of Democratic Renewal, 18.15 percent; the ZSMS [Slovene Sociaist Youth Federation]—Liberal Party, 16.02 percent; the Slovene Christian Democrats, 13.31 percent; the Slovene Peasant Union, 11.98 percent; the Slovene Democratic Alliance, 9.45 percent; the Greens, 9.31 percent; etc. The Slovene Socialist Alliance holds the eighth position. The Demos, the United Democratic Opposition, has so far over 54 percent of votes.

Asked why the pace of vote-counting from the 8 April elections is so slow, Republican Election Commission Chairman Emil Tomc, during talks with domestic and foreign journalists today, said that all committees and commissions counting and gathering votes are complying strictly with the law. Tomc presented the latest vote count to Slovene Republic Presidency members, but these are also not final yet because about 10,000 ballots have yet to be counted. However, the list of Presidency members cannot be altered. This means that out of 12 candidates, the following are new members of the Slovene Republic Presidency: Ciril Zlobec, Ivan Oman, Dr. Dusan Plut, and Dr. Matjaz Kmecl.

Asked when the final results of the elections for the Republican Assembly Sociopolitical Chamber would be known, Emil Tomc said "we hope on 12 April."

Almost Half of Votes Counted

AU1004194090 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Joze Boncar-Stivan report from the Slovene Republican Election Commission —all figures as heard]

[Text] If I reported early in the morning that the members of the election commissions in the constituencies counted over 277,000 ballots for the election of the members to the Slovene Assembly Sociopolitical Chamber by 2400 on 9 April, I can now report that 613,488 have been counted, which is about 49 percent of the total of 1,250,000 valid ballots. This may well give an indication of the proportions in the future Slovene parliament. The parties rank as follows:

The LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]—Party of Democratic Reform, 17.32 percent of votes; the ZSMS [former initials of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation]—Liberal Party, 15.59 percent; the Slovene Christian Democrats, 13.13 percent; the Slovene Peasant Alliance, 12.40 percent; the Slovene Democratic Alliance, 9.68 percent; the Greens of Slovenia, 9.21 percent; the Social-Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, 7.13 percent; the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, 5.07 percent; and the Slovene Artisans Party, 3.76 percent of votes.

The Demos parties thus have 55.31 percent of votes all together.

As we have unofficially learned, between 2000 and 2100 hours today, the Republican Election Commission may officially announce the final results of the elections for the president and members of the Presidency. The final results of the elections to the Sociopolitical Chamber will be known in the days to come.

That is all from the Republican Election Commission today.

Final, 'Unofficial' Results

AU1004202590 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2000 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] After lengthy counts, the final, but still unofficial results of the elections for the Republic of Slovenia president were published at the headquarters of the Republican Election Commission today.

Most of the votes were won by Milan Kucan, candidate of the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]—Party of Democratic Reform and of the Socialist Alliance. He received the votes of 44.4 percent of the 1,174,000 people eligible to vote. Joze Pucnik, candidate of DEMOS, received 26.6 percent of the votes.

Kucan and Pucnik will thus face a second round on 22 April.

The data on the voting for the Republic of Slovenia Presidency members are not final yet, but we may assert with certainty that no further changes in the relative positions are possible. This means that Ciril Zlobec, Ivan Oman, Dusan Plut, and Matjaz Kmecl were elected to the Presidency of Slovenia.

Slovenia Holds Labor Chamber Elections

LD1104094990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0833 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Summary] Ljubljana, 11 Apr (TANJUG)—Elections will be held in Slovenia on 12 April for deputies to the municipal associated labor chambers and for the Slovene republican Chamber of Associated Labor. All employees age 15 and over are entitled to vote, and so are foreign nationals if they work in mixed capital firms. As far as the republican Chamber of Associated Labor is concerned, ther are 59 constituencies, two of which have been set aside for the election of one deputy who is an Italian national and another who is a Hungarian. Eighty deputies will be elected to the Chamber of Associated Labor. One seat is reserved for a Yugoslav People's Army representative.

LCY CC Presidency Resignation Urged

LD0704194390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1541 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Skopje, April 7 (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia today asked for the resignation of the Presidency of the Central Committee (CC) of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and its President Milan Pancevski, a Macedonian.

Macedonian Communists criticized the last session of the rump LCY CC which was not attended by representatives of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia while the representatives of Bosnia-Hercegovina left the session.

The Macedonian LC CC criticized a letter issued at the LCY CC session to all members of the LCY since it was done without the consent of all LCY leaderships.

The letter resembles earlier calls on "healthy forces" to replace their leaderships which are described as destructive, nationalistic, treacherous and so on, Georgi Spasov said in his opening speech.

The Macedonian LC CC session also said that it was not in favor of continuation of the 14th special congress, but for the holding of a new, regular congress at which a new, modern party would be formed.

Pancevski, who attended the Macedonian LC CC session, rejected criticism of his work and said that the issuing of the LCY CC letter was a democratic procedure, not a negation of certain leaderships and republican organizations.

He also said that five parts of the LCY (from as many federal units) cetagorically reject a replacement of the LCY CC Presidency.

Croatian LC Presidency in Zagreb today criticized the letter of the RUMP LCY CC, while it was supported by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and the Belgrade party committee.

'Rather Strained' Macedonian LC Session

LD0804111190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1146 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Skopje, 7 April (TANJUG)—Right at the start of today's session of the Macedonian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee [CC], which is expected to refine the stance of Macedonian Communists on the situation in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], there was a request for the resignation of Milan Pancevski and the LCY CC Presidium. Besides this, it was categorically stated that the Macedonian LC requests the holding of a new, regular LCY Congress, at which a new Yugoslav, modern party will be developed. All parts of this new party that, like the Macedonian LC, must also operate as autonomous parties campaigning for the trust of citizens at the forthcoming elections, would draw authority and strength from its Yugoslav character.

The introductory report at today's session was submitted by Georgi Spasov, a Macedonian LC CC Presidium member who, summing up the public debate in Macedonian LC organizations, stated the common stance that the last session of a section of the LCY CC members was harmful and destructive. Starting from their own conviction that all the other organizations, with the exception of the Serbian LC, the Montenegrin LC, and the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, are bureaucratized and alienated, a group of LCY CC members sought a referendum. Without our agreement, they called on the membership to make their views known personally, while delegates themselves establish the date for the resumption of the 14th congress.

For us, all this resembles an earlier similar turning in the Communist movement to "healthy forces" so that support for "completely correct policy" might be ensured, Spasov said. In this process, these "healthy forces" are merely supposed to replace their leaderships that do not wish to fall into line. Such leaderships are characterized as destructive, nationalistic, treacherous, and so on.

In the judgement of Spasov and the great majority of Macedonian Communists, such action by the truncated LCY CC and the remnants of its Presidium will without doubt lead to further splits in the LCY on a national basis. [passage omitted]

The debate at the session was characterized at the beginning by the support of Macedonian LC CC members for the introductory report and the stances of the LCY CC Presidium. [as received] Milan Pancevski [words indistinct] to dispute the validity of the debate, expressing doubt that the approved document of the LCY CC Presidium, "Questions and Proposals in Connection with the Adjournment and Further Work of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY," was not sent to the organizations, organs, and members of the Macedonian LC. Pancevski believes that there ought to be discussion of this material as well, and he stressed that the Macedonian LC CC Presidium has up to this point in

time been in favor both of the continuation of the congress and for a new congress, while today it has only one standpoint.

Replying to these criticisms from Pancevski, Petar Gosev, Macedonian LC CC Presidium president, recalled that the material of the Presidium is incorporated into the stances, especially in those parts in which it corresponds with the assessments of the Macedonian LC. As regards a new congress, Gosev recalled that this is the ultimate result of the debate, which is today being summed up. Macedonian Communists, he said, are demanding a new congress. [passage omitted]

LCY CC Presidium President Milan Pancevski again took part in the debate on the stances of the Macedonian LC CC Presidium as he delivered his over 50-minute-long explanation about the reasons for convening the session of 30 March. He tried to explain the intentions of the letter to the membership and at the same time to submit to the Macedonian LC CC Presidium a kind of report on his activities and work at the top position in the Yugoslav party.

Pancevski tried to convince the members of the Macedonian LC CC that the Macedonian stands had been accurately conveyed and included in the document of the LCY CC Presidium on the adjournment of the work of the 14th congress. He again demanded that this Presidium document be taken into consideration. As far as the convening of the LCY CC session of 30 March is considered, Pancevski categorically claimed that all the leaderships except the Slovene one were in favor of this plenum only two to three days before the meeting. The session was convened, he said, in order to enable the Presidium to inform the LCY CC about its efforts of the past three months in implementing the conclusions of the last plenary session of the 14th congress. He maintains that the Presidium was duty-bound to work on creating the conditions for the continuation of the congress and overcoming the misunderstandings.

The decision on this, however, can only be made by the CC. The session was announced on two or three occasions, and only a day before the Croatian LC was against it too. Remarks were then also voiced by the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC and the Macedonian LC, which, in effect, advocated the resignation of the Presidium, something, he stressed, that is not accepted by five LCY organizations, that is, two republican and two provincial organizations and the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. Pancevski also noted that the letter about the Macedonian LC's nonattendance of the LCY CC members from the Macedonian LC, Pancevski said, was made at the Macedonian LC CC Presidium's meeting with the LCY CC's members from the Macedonian LC.

Regarding the letter, Pancevski said that this was a democratic attempt to allow the membership to have the final word on the continuation of the 14th extraordinary congress or scheduling a new one, especially in the conditions of the obstacles placed in the way of the session at which legitimate documents were given expression. One such democratic procedure cannot mean the negation of individual leaderships and republican organizations, Pancevski observed.

Criticizing the standpoint of the Macedonian LC CC Presidium, Pancevski said that the LCY membership must be the basic subject of the party. Hence the view of the Macedonian LC CC Presidium that the letter is tantamount to the negation of organizations, to advocacy of "letting members act" and to provoking "an anti-bureaucratic revolution," does not, at least to him, have any basis whatsoever.

Many unfounded things are imputed to us, and I would ask here, are these assessments and stances of the Macedonian LC CC Presidium in agreement with the 10th congress of the Macedonian LC? Pancevski said: A method of disqualification is being imposed, and at the same time the Macedonian LC CC Presidium requests the express views of the membership regarding the letter, the content of which is not widely known.

Pancevski then spoke about the assessments of his work and the demands for his resignation. He was particularly upset, he said, by the assessment that he has no feel for the situation in the party. He also declared all the activities of the post he holds. He believes that his efforts to create the conditions for the congress' continuation have borne fruit, and he asked Macedonian LC CC members whether they agree with the "lies and fabrications that have been spread about him." This is a matter of the conscious political disqualification of his personality and of the political settling of scores, Pancevski believes. He asked: What kind of democracy is it that uses labeling and pressure on each person who has a different view from that of the Presidium?

Pancevski cited his advocacy of the election of Tuperkovski as president of the LCY CC Presidium, and later on the Macedonian LC CC president, as a motive for such an attitude of the Macedonian LC CC Presidium toward him. Is there also a motive perhaps in my advocacy of the election of Mihail Danev and Petar Georgievski prior to and during the 10th congress of the Macedonian LC, Pancevski asked.

Macedonian LC CC President Petar Gosev warned Pancevski against adopting such a personal tone in the debate, telling him not to misuse the time because he had already been talking for more than 50 minutes, which, Gosev added, does not mean that Pancevski cannot continue his discussion.

Continuing his discussion, Pancevski analyzed in particular the demands for the creation of a coordinating body that would be controlled by the party and would prepare the new congress. Pancevski said that this is an idea long advocated by comrades in Slovenia, especially Ciril Ribicic. The leadership of this body was first of all offered, with great insistance, to Petar Simic, Presidium president of the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, and then to Nijaz Durakovic. However, such

appointments by the Presidium are categorically not accepted by five LCY bodies, Pancevski said. [passage omitted]

The letter [of the LCY CC], Gosev stressed, is an invitation to schism in the LCY, so we do not want to take part in this. It is a direct pressure and an obvious proof that here one is dealing with ambitions to dominate the LCY, as well as the whole of society. It bears witness to the fact that democracy, equality, and unity are but a mere smokescreen for the real tensions of the policy that cannot break away from the hereditary chains of its narrow- mindedness and violent disciplining of the disobedient.

A crude Comintern-style war has been declared on all those who had different views.

We are also among them, Gosev noted, and added that the Macedonian LC is qualified as the demolisher of the unity of the LCY and the country. Of course, this is the kind of unity defined in a different way by those who arrogate our feelings towards Yugoslavia. They defame and name, if need be, as devils those who do not bend to their dictates and blackmail.

We regard our failure to attend the session and our unacceptance of a policy that makes use of dictates and blackmail as an elementary art of preserving self-respect and dignity and the right to be equal and respected and to be Yugoslavs, as representatives of Macedonia, neither less nor more than those who deny us that. We are ready to do everything to preserve Yugoslavia's integirty and its federal system and to restore its international reputation from the best days of Josip Broz Tito. This is why we cannot accept Macedonia as someone's district, province, protectorate, or pontificate. We will not accept such an undignified policy, Gosev was categorical. If we do not command enough support for this, no one can keep us at these posts. [passage omitted]

Gosev stressed that Macedonian Communists do not insist on the responsibility of Panceviski and the other Presidium member, Ljubomir Varoslija, but they are nevertheless duty-bound by the statute to stop occupying their posts if they are unable to carry out their duties.

The president of the Macedonian LC CC Presidium, Petar Gosev, finally proposed that the CC adopt a stand whereby the LCY CC Presidium members from the Macedonian LC are requested to resign. Unless they do this, Gosev stressed, this CC will no longer regard them as its legitimate representatives. This stand was adopted together with the stands of the Macedonian LC CC Presidium on the unsuccessful LCY CC session and a report on the public debate in the wake of the adjournment of the 14th Extraordinary Congress.

The Macedonian LC CC also adopted a decision tonight that the membership fee be reduced to one percent [as received], and that this percentage apply to all members.

After 14 hours of work, this was the end of a rather strained session of the Macedonian LC CC. Nearly all the CC members, the majority of the LCY CC members from the Macedonian LC, and LCY CC Presidium President Milan Pancevski took part in the debate.

Macedonian Communists Against Pancevski

AU0804190190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Report by correspondent Boris Djordjioski in Skopje from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Following the conclusion of the working-consultative meeting of the Central Committee [CC] of the League of Communists [LC] of Yugoslavia, or to be more precise, of those who attended the session, the Communists and the public were sent a letter. Instead of being replied to in the way that those who sent it expected and wanted, this letter resulted in tempestuous reaction in Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Let us now hear a report from our Skopje correspondent, Boris Djordjioski:

[Djorioski] For the Communists in Macedonia the 14th congress is over because conditions to continue it do not exist. This is why a new congress based on new foundations should be considered. The letter sent to the membership by the remaining members of the Presidium is illegitimate, inappropriate for the LC, unacceptable, and provocative, and only represents a step toward further rifts in what was until recently called the vanguard of the Yugoslav workers class. The allegations that the Communists in this republic are considering the northern-western option were rejected. It was said that the Macedonian Communists hold a clear stand and that they do not agree that they should wash anybody's dirty laundry. The resignations of Milan Pancevski and other remaining members of the CC Presidium of the LC of Yugoslavia were also demanded.

This could be a brief summary of the marathon LC of Macedonia session held in Skopje on 7 April. The session was characterized by the unanimous support to the republican Presidium, which also supports such stands. The exception was the Communists of Kumanovo, who think that the congress should continue its work and that the letter is legitimate. They intend to present their stands on this matter at a meeting planned for 9 April.

Numerous retorts were caused by the speech of Milan Pancevski, Presidium president of the LC of Yugoslavia CC, who stressed, among other things, that the Macedonian Party leadership is using lies and fabrications and that it is deliberately deceiving the public with the aim of extorting support.

If these fairly serious allegations made by Pancevski are compared with the assessments made in the concluding speech by LC of Macedonia President Petar Gosev, one would probably get a real picture of the extent of the

already created rift and mistrust toward both Pancevski and the policy of the remaining members of the Presidium that he heads.

Gosev is of the view that the letter in fact means a further imposition of views without the consent of all parts of the LC, which is to say an aspiration for domination in the LC of Yugoslavia and society as a whole. Democracy, equality, and togetherness are a simple screen for the continuation of unanimity in views and disciplining those who allegedly do not listen. This is a policy of a dictate and blackmail. One cannot accepted the policy that advocates Macedonia as somebody's district, protectorate, or pontificate.

In his speech, Pancevski criticized Gosev for exerting in the name of democracy political pressure on those who think differently from the alleged reformists.

Both Gosev and the republican Presidium were extended unreserved support on 7 April. Pancevski and Varoslija were asked to tender their resignations, but if these were not tendered, Pancevski and Varoslija would no longer be regarded as members of the LCY CC Presidium from Macedonia. This demand was expanded with the stand that all other Presidium members should also resign and that a coordinating body should assume all obligations concerning the organization of a new congress. The Macedonian Communists also want a letter to be sent to all republican and provincial party leaderships inviting them to a meeting so that an agreement can be reached on a new form of liaising based on new foundations, or as one of the participants in the discussion said, so that at least they can sit at the table together, regardless of quarrels.

Macedonian Chief Opposes Stand on LCY Letter

LD1004091290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0100 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Kumanovo, Apr 10 (TANJUG)—The communal committee of the League of Communists (LC) of Kumanovo in Yugoslavia's republic of Macedonia here on Monday held a meeting before 5,000 people, acutely criticizing the leadership of the LC of Macedonia.

The meeting, officially called "a working meeting of communists and citizens of Kumanovo," posed the demand that chief of the LC of Macedonia Petar Gosev should resign. Also said was that the Kunanovo townspeople commit themselves to a resumption of the 14th special congress of the LC of Yugoslavia, disrupted in January by a Slovenian walk-out.

Local communist leader Dragisa Atanasovski said his organization was against the proposal for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) to become "a league of the Leagues of Communists" because, as he put it, this was disintegrating Yugoslavia.

Antanovski upheld a letter sent recently to the LCY membership by the LCY's incomplete Central Committee (CC). The session of the LCY CC which sent the letter to the membership was not attended by representatives of Slovenia, Croatia and, partly Macedonia, while later those of Bosnia-Herzegovina walked out.

On Saturday the CC of the LC of Macedonia assessed at its session that the said letter was illegitimate and raised a demand that the Presidency of the LCY CC, headed by President Milan Pancevski, should resign.

Croat Party Assails LCY Letter

LD0804093390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, 6 April (TANJUG)—In connection with the "letter" signed by "members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee [CC] at their working consultative meeting on 30 March this year in Belgrade, and sent to us by Milan Pancevski as "president of the LCY CC Presidium," we proclaim to the membership of the Croat League of Communists [LC]-Party of Democratic Change and to other LC organizations in the country, and also to the public, our profound disagreement with the motives and intentions of its signatories. Obviously, continues the statement from today's session of the Presidium of the Croat LC-Party of Democratic Change, they are obstinately persisting in their policy of the kind of narrow-mindedness that also led to the demise of the 14th Extraordinary—the most recent—Congress, and actually broke up the LCY and destroyed the legitimacy of its leadership while people were expecting its vital democratic transformation.

As we do not have any statutory obligation to give a reply, nor does such a "letter" merit one, we are briefly stating that such a "letter" unsuccessfully conceals the fact that the signatories are in fact former members of the LCY CC who, in the absence of members from as many as four out of the six autonomous republican organizations, are addressing the whole of what was previously the LCY, thus taking on in an arbitrary way the role and initiative of a non-existent Yugoslav party leadership. This attempt, the statement goes on, is an irresistibly unpleasant reminder of the long-abandoned relations between Communists of Comintern and similar times, when "healthy forces" were invoked against "disobedient" legitimate parties. In the context of current Yugoslav political events, we also see "the letter" as a new attempt to exert pressure by the leaderships of those republican and provincial LC organizations that advocated the arbitrary principle of the extraordinary nature of the 14th congress and now its urgent resumption and completion.

The failure to understand, or the intentional silence over, the reasons for the failure of the congress and the LCY's disintegration, as well as the simultaneous

demands for its rapid renewal, as if nothing important has happened, are also incomprehensible and unacceptable to us. We are prepared to welcome all democratic endeavors and new transformation-orientated plans in the LC of Serbia, Vojvodina and Montenegro. With these changes, in no way do we accept a parallel policy of extraordinariness and directed unity, nor can we agree that these changes are an alibi for a "letter" that is really opposed to them.

The unacceptable "letter" also reveals the dangerous intention of the signatories to sow discord in the ranks of the Croat LC-Party of Democratic Change and other organizations, and we do not see as accidental the unleashing of this "letter" at the height of the pre-election campaign in Croatia, when the Croat LC-Party of Democratic Change together with other democratic forces is initiating reforms and campaigning for democracy.

We are seriously concerned, the statement goes on to stress, by the fact that among the signatories there are also members of the former LCY CC from the Yugoslav People's Army. This can in no way be in keeping with the Yugoslav character of our Army. It is not possible for us to assume that the Yugoslav People's Army will continue to keep its general Yugoslav character if, in the name of Communists within it, their representatives will give uncritical support to policy in one part of the country and within only one part of the LC. We are convinced that the Yugoslav People's Army, adopting itself to the new historical conditions, will continue to confirm its own and Yugoslav identity, without in the process abandoning all the positive values that (?have been generated by) the legacy of the national liberation struggle and the whole of the postwar period.

Hence, the statement concludes, the party of the Croat LC-Party of Democratic Change again proposes that, instead of demands for the resumption of the 14th congress with the former delegates and leaderships, preparations be undertaken for a new meeting of left-wing forces in Yugoslavia. We propose to all constitutive organizations of the LC that, together with other democratic left-wing forces, they form a roundtable of the Yugoslav democratic left, as its own kind of democratic forum that will make thorough preparations for a historical meeting of their renewed togetherness on a Yugoslav level.

Movement for Confederation Members Interviewed

LD0804103690

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1505 GMT on 6 April broadcasts an interview with two representatives of the Movement for Confederation (pokret za konfederaciju), Chairman Petar Vucic and Ante Maricic, a member of the Movement's Council, by an unidentified correspondent.

It is noted that the party was founded in Zagreb, where its headquarters are. One of the Movement representatives, unidentified due to poor reception, first explains the difference between "party" and "movement," and then dwells on the meaning of the word confederation and the history of the idea of confederation. He also explains in great detail past and present confederal systems. The Movement for Confederation advocates a new SFRY constitution, which would lay down that Yugoslavia is a confederation. The Movement representative tries at great length to point out positive aspects of confederal set-up. He believes that only the Army and foreign policy should be within the confederation's responsibility. Both Radio Zagreb guests are extremely vague about whether the Movement has already joined or will join the Coalition of National Accord.

The two Movement representatives dwell on past mistakes and missed opportunities in the economic area. The Movement for Confederation propagates market economy and technological progress, they say.

Croat Party Leaders Attend Munich Gathering

LD0804100190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2022 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Munich, 7 Apr (TANJUG)—The Coalition of National Accord demands, according to its leading candidate in the forthcoming elections in Croatia, Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, "original sovereignty of the republic, including the right of seccesion."

There should also be the right of reunion in the event of the Croatian Assembly opting for it, she said at a preelection meeting tonight in Munich.

At the invitation of the newly formed A.G. Matos Society, under the auspices of the Croat Catholic Mission, about 3,000 participants gathered in the Olympic Hall of Munich. The organizers expected about 8,000 people.

Croatian Democratic Party Chairman Vladimir Veselica spoke in favor of a confederal system in Yugoslavia, but if this fails, as he put it, then the right of secession should be put to use.

Promising all citizens equal civic rights, he said, however, that there are "open doors" for all those who are unwilling to be loyal to Croatia.

The coalition champion, Mika Tripalo, who cautioned that in the forthcoming elections "hawks should not be given a chance for they only step up tensions and extremism," was booed as he said that Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic's program of reforms is already yielding initial results.

The participants in the meeting were also greeted by Otto von Habsburg, a politician of the ultra-conservative Christian Social Union, who expressed his hope that as early as tomorrow Croatian parliamentartians will enter the European Parliament.

Croat Private Sector Trade Union Formed

LD0804095590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1101 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 7 Apr (TANJUG)—The Croatian independent trade union of private sector workers was founded in Zagreb today. The trade union founders are basic trade union organizations of workers employed in the private sector from 15 places in the republic; this independent organization now has 3,000 members. [passage omitted]

This is the 24th independent trade union in Croatia. It will, as was also decided today, join the Croatian federation of independent trade unions.

Croatian Coalition Protests General's Speech

LD0804100490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1323 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, 7 Apr (TANJUG)—The joint committee of the Coalition of National Accord [Koalicija Narodnog sporazuma] [KNS] today expressed sharp protest at the speech by Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, to the officers and soldiers of the 5th Military District.

Army Gen. Veljko Kadijevic's words that "those who today, in the election race for power, are negating all the values and achievements in our development so far, will be thwarted", and that "the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and Armed Forces as a whole...in accordance with its constitutional role, will resolutely oppose the forces that are undermining the foundations of the SFRY" are assessed by the KNS as the impermissable usurpation by the Army of the right to determine what are and are not the "foundations of the SFRY" and which "values and achievements in our development so far" are desirable and which are not.

The coalition recalls that in democratic societies the right to determine the fundamental questions of the social order belong exclusively to the representatives of the people—the legally elected members of parliament, and certainly not to individual state services that are only the executors of the will of the people.

The KNS considers that the statements by Army Gen. Veljko Kadijevic, as reported to the public, are threats and extortions that instill distress and fear in the electorate and endanger free elections in Croatia, a statement issued today by the KNS joint committee says.

Kadijevic Stresses Army's Role

LD0804091990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, 6 April (TANJUG)—The federal national defense secretary, Army General Veljko Kadijevic, and his aides today ended their three-day visit to units and commanding bodies of the 5th Military District.

In the course of his visit to the barracks, classrooms, training fields, and firing ranges where infantry, mountain units, signals units, and other combat formations displayed their combat training, he personally witnessed the skill of the soldiers and officers in operating the most modern combat equipment in the course of combat training and shooting practices.

The mountain units' members made a strong impression as they demonstrated their resourcefulness, skill, and daring.

In all his contacts with officers and soldiers, and particularly at the final meeting with the district headquarters' senior officers, Gen. Kadijevic pointed out the increasingly demanding duties of all members of the Armed Forces and the constant readiness of the units and commanding bodies to successfully carry out their established duties and responsibilities.

Reflecting on the current sociopolitical, defense, and security situation, he particularly stressed the need for consistently abiding by the Constitution and law. It was stressed that society only could overcome the crisis and persevere in implementing the Federal Executive Council program if the responsible groups' resolute measures prevent violations of the Constitution and laws and ensure a higher degree of responsibility, work, and organization. It was pointed out that those who in today's electoral competition deny all the achievements and values of our previous development and offer fratricidal war, the redrawing of the country's borders, and its disintegration must be aware that this will be foiled. Our freedom has exacted a high price and it must be saved by engaging all patriotic forces. In this connection, it was stressed that the Yugoslav Peoples' Army and the Armed Forces will fully contribute to the development of democracy and those processes that render human life richer and more humane; nevertheless, they will, in keeping with their constitutional role, resolutely oppose those forces that undermine the foundations of the SFRY and weaken its defense potential and security.

In the course of his visit to Zagreb and Ljubljana, Gen. Kadijevic met retired generals and admirals and informed them in detail about the current political and security situation in the country in light of international and internal developments.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC on Presidency Resignation

LD0704224390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2012 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 7 Apr (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] Central Committee this evening, after a controversial and polemical debate, unanimously adopted the Presidium stances of this forum on the letter the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee sent to the membership. According to these stances, the letter has no

legitimacy in political and statutory terms, and objectively hastens the further destruction of the LCY.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee has requested the resignation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and rejected the resignation offered by the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium.

Serbian Conference Reproaches Kosovo Workers

LD0704050690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1236 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Apr (TANJUG)—Supplying unnecessary and wrong medicine to allegedly poisoned Albanian schoolchildren and discharging genuinely sick people out of hospitals is the criminal act of endangering people's health and lives. For this reason it is vital to establish as soon as possible individual responsibility of all health workers and medical institutions in Kosovo guilty of such crimes and to take necessary measures against them.

This was concluded at today's session of the health and social security section of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference, which was attended by representatives of both provinces. Joining in the accusations against health workers in Kosovo who allowed themselves to be forced into the game of Albanian chauvinists and separatists, the section demanded that the republic's responsible offices give full protection to expert medical teams from Serbia, who are currently providing medical assistance to the southern province, from attacks by Albanian separatists and to ensure their normal work.

Federal institutions were reproached for a delay in establishing the real situation in connection with the alleged poisoning. At today's sesion, the section also assessed as vital the urgent introduction of strict health and hygiene control in Kosovo because of a justified fear of a genuine outbreak of poisoning for which Serbia would be to blame. The section also requested that federal bodies be included in the work on the stabilization of the general health situation in Kosovo.

Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Meets

LD0804084390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1007 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 6 Apr (TANJUG)—The Kosovo LC [League of Communists] would tranform itself into a modern political party whose aim is the development of democratic socialism; preservation of the federal character of Yugoslavia; a democratic and modern republic of Serbia as a united state and self-managing community with provinces, which should be autonomous communities of equal nations and nationalities in line with their specific historical, national, and cultural conditions and needs.

These are some of the key orientations of the Kosovo LC as the party for democratic socialism. Members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee discussed these orientations before the document about its transformation was released for wide discussion among the members.

Ljubomir Popovic explained in detail the essence behind the wish to break away from the historically outmoded ideological and political concepts from the position of one's own monopoly. We will, he said, follow and continue all progressive ideas and achievements of the CPY-LCY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia-League of Communists of Yugoslavia]. However, we will resolutely break away from negative ideological and political heritage.

Popovic underlined the orientation to democratization of the social relations and the system as a whole, to the reform of society in which all conditions would be created for all people to work and take part in the political life.

We will act as an independent organization of LCY members in Kosovo, as an integral part of the Serbian LC and the LCY. We regard the unity of the Serbian LC as our permanent orientation. Factors of that unity are provincial LCs, which, according to Ljubomir Popovic, represent the only possible basis for their independence and contribution to the unity of the LCY.

Popovic stressed the openness of the future party of Kosovo Communists for cooperation with all parties and movements of democratic, left-wing orientation and its support for political programs that aspire to peace, security, and equality in Kosovo, strengthening of the unity in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia. He, however, underlined the resolute opposition to all organizations and activities aimed at the violent overthrow of the constitutional order, endangering of the country's territorial integrity, and the instigation of terrorism and violence. This Kosovo party will be against parties, associations, and groups that are organized on the basis of single-nation intolerance and nationalistic platforms that advocate divisions, intolerance, conflicts, and hatred on any basis whatsoever. [passage omitted]

According to Popovic, the Kosovo LC as a party for democratic socialism will take the following stand on the province: to advocate the reaffirmation of Kosovo's autonomy and its multinational body, as well as to ensure that it be directly represented in federation organizations and offices and that its basic rights in view of autonomy be established and protected by the SFRY Constitution.

In a discussion in which 13 speakers took part, the dominant stand was that the Kosovo LC should be clearly oriented toward the preservation of Yugoslavia's unity, for Kosovo in Serbia and Yugoslavia. As such it will resolutely oppose all retrograde and conservative forces whose intention is to re-tailor the country, isolate Serbia, and see Kosovo outside it. [passage omitted]

Concluding the discussion, Rahman Morina, Kosovo LC Provincial Committee president, expressed the conviction that the Kosovo LC policy would win because it offers peace, equality, and prosperity for the province. Developing a new identity presupposes, Morina added, a clear critical stand towards mistakes, misconceptions, and burdens from the past, without which we cannot move forward. We will rely on the people and, with our program, we will attract young and capable people and will fight resolutely against Albanian nationalism and separatism, Serbian, and any other nationalism.

A public debate about the proposed basic orientations of the Kosovo LC as the party for democratic socialism should commence immediately. It will last until 30 April, so that the Provincial Committee can adopt the document at the latest by 7 May.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee today considered the LCY Central Committee letter sent to the party members and adopted stances that, in the form of a telegram, would be sent to the LCY Central Committee. We press for, the stands stress, the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress to resume its work as soon as possible. The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium are quite legitimate bodies to prepare the resumption of the work.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee will take active part in the preparations of the resumed congress and in its work. It holds that the LCY should remain a united organization following historical LCY values and developing itself on new program and organizational foundations.

We see in a higher degree of LCY unity the basic guarantee for the stabilization of the situation in the province, and, thereby, for its full prosperity as a multinational community.

We are concerned over the fate of our political organization and, therefore, are coming out in favor of the unpostponable elimination of all blockades and uncertainty regarding whether the congress could continue, states the telegram of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, which at the same time calls fon all LC members and organizations in the province to make their views known.

In connection with the LCY CC [Central Committee] letter to the party membership, Provincial Committee President Rahman Morina stressed that failure to attend and departure from sessions of the LCY bodies and further delays in holding the planned sessions represented the continuation of the activity of those forces and LCY parts that are against its Yugoslav character and are striving for a confederative Yugoslavia. This is at the same time an exceptionally undemocratic act that is an objective barrier to the commenced democratic transformation of the LC. It is extremely unacceptable that some party leaderships should impose themselves as the sole interpreters of the will of the LCY membership and the delegates of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, bypassing its legally elected bodies, believes Morina.

Dwelling on claims heard on 5 April at the session of the Macedonian LC CC—that two republican LC organizations are imposing their stands to the membership—Morina said that this leadership should explain how and on the basis of what criteria five organizations are being transformed into two.

The consultative session of the LCY CC, which extended a letter to the party membership, was attended by members of the CCs of two republican organizations, two provincial ones, and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. Not only that the work of this meeting—which has grasped the seriousness of the present situation and which has called on the membership for help—is being wrongly interpreted, but the existeance of provincial LC organizations within the Serbian LC is being negated as the integral part of the LCY. What is at issue here is the unconcealed desire to wipe the Kosovo and Vojvodina LCs from the political scene, and to prepare the public psychologically not to give support to the proposals contained in the LCY CC letter to the party membership. [passage omitted]

Imprisonment of Kosovo Youth Leader Protested

AU0904142690 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 6 Apr 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Response of the Pristina Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative—Nexhat Buzuku's Release Demanded"]

[Text] Nexhat Buzuku, chairman of the Youth Parliament Gnjilane Branch, was arrested on 2 April and was sentenced on 3 April to 30 days' imprisonment without the right of appeal to any higher court. The explanation of the Communal Magistrate's Court in Gnjilane states that when Nexhat Buzuku's papers were being checked, nine copies of a text entitled "Kosovo Youth Parliament—Most Recent Communique" were found in his briefcase. The court considered that this text "offended citizens' national feelings, upset them, or disposed them against the state authorities."

We think that this is a gross example of totalitarian ideology and its influence on the state authorities. Nexhat Buzuku was sentenced and even imprisoned merely because he possessed a text, and on the basis of the magistrate's view of the "suitability" of this text. From now on, 23 million Yugoslav citizens could be put in prison because grounds for "offense" or "concern" might be found in any scrap of writing a citizen may have in his home or carry on his person. Besides this, they could all be sent to prison without regard to the fact that a higher court could pronounce the next day that it was a mistake and the citizen should be excused. We will not comment on the aforementioned text because it is a document that was read at the recent roundtable on "Human Rights and Democracy" held in Pristina. Like all other documents presented at this meeting, it can only be subjected to political judgment and not to the verdict of the police and the courts. The question for Yugoslavia today is: How can the police deprive somebody of his

freedom simply because he has a document in his briefcase, on the basis of which he is handed over to the courts? Have the police now been authorized to exercise their political judgment on documents and on political views? We demand of the highest bodies in the SFRY that Nexhat Buzuku be released at once, the communique of the Pristina Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative states.

New Cases of Poisoning Reported in Kosovo

AU0704185990 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] The situation in Kosovo today was calm. Lessons in schools took place normally, although with reduced attendance. Some new cases of the mysterious illness were reported today. As our correspondent in Vucitrn reports, five new cases of the mysterious poisoning were reported at the Muharrem Bekteshi Secondary School. This caused some panic and the pupils of 24 of 35 classes left the school.

During the first session at the Josip Broz Tito School in Klinje, as our correspondent Xhafer Berisha reports, five pupils asked for medical assistance due to the by-now well-known symptoms. Our correspondent says that the pupils were hindered by security forces when they asked for medical treatment.

Rumored Arrest of Kosovo Albanian Activists

LD0804201790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1850 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Pristina, Apr 8 (TANJUG)—In the restless Yugoslav Province of Kosovo rumours spread about arrests of activists of the ethnic Albanian organization called "Parliament of Youth" writes today the Prinstina Albanian-language RILINDJA.

Reports, not officially confirmed, said that those arrested yesterday [7 April] were president of the said youth organization Haljilj Metosi, its member Bljarim Salja (staff journalist of the Albanian-language paper ZERI I RINIS) and his brother Ljuljzim.

The RILINDJA paper, in quoting from still unverified reports, wrote that they were arrested "on the grounds of suspicion of having perpetrated a crime of fanning up national hatred and spreading false news."

Ibrahim Rugova, chief of the Democratic Alliance, one of the strongest alternative organizations of Kosovo Albanians, told newsmen that he feared the arrests were "an introduction to the undertaking of similar steps also against the leading personalities of the alternative organizations."

This is feared to serve the Albanian separatis as the possible fresh excuse for their attacks on Slavic population, as was the case during the "epidemic" of simulated poisoning of ethnic Albanian school children in late March.

Albanians Claim Maltreatment of Youth Leaders

AU0904192490 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1700 GMT on 9 April devotes 12 minutes of its extended 40-minute newscast to correspondents' reports on events in Kosovo towns.

A report from Pec says, "The political situation in Pec Commune is becoming ever more involved because of the appearance of new cases of the mysterious poisoning of schoolchildren." The report states that after five cases were reported at the 11 May High School, "the militia at once entered the school, and the frightened and outraged pupils left the building." The report also states that "about 1,000 workers of the Ramiz Sadiku Vehicle Spare Parts Factory sent a letter to the SFRY and Kosovo Presidencies about the situation that has arisen in the province. In this protest, the workers stress, among other things, that no rule of law operates in Kosovo, and every reasonable request for dialogue, democracy, and the protection of human rights and freedoms meets with the reply of brutal behavior, torture, and the maltreatment of the Albanian populace by the state authorities." The workers' letter is reported as continuing, "We workers, when we say there is no rule of law in Kosovo, say this, just as a man in darkness looks for light, and ask for freedom, democracy, togetherness, and brotherhood and unity; but the obstacle to these things lies in the leadership, especially the leadership of Serbia, which is sowing unprecedented hatred." The workers' letter is also reported as stating, "We are against all constitutional changes as long as the emergency measures remain in force."

A report from Podujevo describes a "quiet" situation with all schools, factories, and institutions working normally, "which reflects the high level of awareness of the workers class and citizens of this commune, who under these very difficult circumstances are ready to patiently wait for the democratic changes demanded by today's Europe." The report states that "meetings of citizens were held throughout the commune, demanding of the highest state authorities that the problems of Kosovo be solved once and for all." According to the report, "Branches of the Youth Parliament demanded that an official statement be issued at once on the reasons for all the arrests of members of Initiating Council of the Youth Parliament," and stated that "the house searches and arrests being carried out in this commune and Kosovo at large are hampering democratic processes in Kosovo."

A report from Djakovica reports that all schools and factories are working normally, while "in many parts of the commune legal gatherings of workers and citizens were held," which demanded that "Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic should come to Kosovo for dialogue with the Kosovo Alternative," and called for "the soonest possible release of our arrested comrades of the Kosovo Youth Parliament, its chairman, Halil Matoshi, Secretary of its Presidium Blerim Shala, and the Radio Pristina Youth Parliament

chairman, Lulzim Shala." Further communal meetings demanded an elucidation of the "epidemic of poisoning," and insisted that no constitutional changes should be introduced while the emergency measures remain in force. Other meetings in Decani Commune are reported as issuing similar demands.

Former Kosovo Officials To Go on Trial

LD0904200590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1045 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Pristina, 9 April (TANJUG)—Former Kosovo Assembly President Ilijaz Kurtesi and a group of former provincial officials from Decani will be brought to trial in the district court of Pec on the basis of a well-founded suspicion that they have committed a criminal act of inciting national, racist, and religious hatred.

The district court president in Pec, Zivojin Cvejic, has informed the provincial executive council's Secretariat for Information that Ilijaz Kurtesi will share the bench with former provincial Finance Secretary Ilijaz Ilijazi and Iso Sokolji, former Assembly Commission for Petitions and Complaints president.

The former top official of the municipality of Decani, Visaj Jusuf, head of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs; municpal committee Secretary Sahit Cekaj; trade unions President Kadrija Kastriti; Ibrahim Muljaj, Socialist Alliance of Working People municipal conference president; and municipal Assembly Secretary Radomir Petrovic will also be charged with commiting the same criminal act.

Kosovo LC Comments on LCY Session

AU0904125490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Apr 90 p 3

[R. Barjaktarevic report: "There is Hope Nevertheless"]

[Text] Pristina—The Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists [LC] of Kosovo has issued an official statement on the course and outcome of the session of the truncated League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee [CC] that says, among other things:

The absence and departure from the LCY CC session by its members and certain LCY parts is an extremely undemocratic act that objectively inhibits the incipient processes in the transformation of the LC and its survival as a Yugoslav political party. After the interruption of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress and the serious political consequences that this interruption had—particularly in Kosovo—we had optimistically awaited the session of the LCY CC. We were sure that the main controversial issues and basic differences had been overcome in the meantime and that the necessary prerequisites had been created for the work of the 14th Extraordinary Congress to be successfully brought to an end, and for this to be immediately followed by work on formulating a new program and statute and preparing a new congress. However, at this moment, quasi-democratic activity is being imposed on the LC in various ways. This activity is most often only declaratively based on the true freedom of the democratic political expression of each personality.

Dobrosav Radovic, Presidium member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, commented on the present situation in the LCY for BORBA:

"It can clearly be seen that for those who advocated that the LCY should step down from power, this was only a screen for the LC to step down from the sociopolitical stage. It can also be seen that these people did not shrink from anything and stopped at nothing in besmirching the LC. Since the interruption of the extraordinary congress, it has been shown that certain party leaders have not even shrunk from forming a coalition with parties like Tudjman's. The question arises about whether these leaders care at all about the elections or whether they care about promoting pro-Ustasha organizations. The extent to which they actually respect the will of the membership is best shown by the case of Croatia. Even Branko Horvat explained at the congress that, as he put it, two parties had already been formed."

Any attempt at continuing to communicate with the leadership of Slovenia was pointless, Radovic continued, because its program drastically deviates from the basic LCY principles and orientations. I think that it was clear that it was no longer worth persuading and pleading with the leaders at that time to change their stands or to wait for them to do this since it could be seen that they were increasingly sinking and would be accountable to history for the destruction of the LCY.

By not going to the LCY CC session, the members from Slovenia and Croatia showed their exclusivity and nonacceptance of the principle of democratic accord. The LCY CC session was attended by those who had advocated unity at the congress because this involves critical issues for the country in this situation, which is best confirmed in Kosovo where Albanian nationalists and separatists are now being encouraged in their activities by Croatia and Slovenia.

I think that the call to the LCY membership that was made by those who were at the LCY CC session was the only possible solution at this time. This is because those who were not there wanted to prevent any opportunity to reach agreement on continuing the interrupted congress or on preparing a regular one. I am convinced and I expect that the congress will continue or that a regular one will be prepared because the desire for this was, after all, shown by debates among the membership in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia. At the crucial moment, the will of the LCY membership will be expressed, which will show a high level of consciousness of the need for the survival of a united LCY as the basic prerequisite for preserving the country and its unity, Dobrosav Radovic told BORBA.

Alternative Movements Meet in Pristina

AU0804184590 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 1 Apr 90 p 4

[Blerim Reka and Kelmend Hapciu report: "Democracy in Kosovo, Democracy in Yugoslavia"]

[Excerpts] After its unusual start the evening before last, when representatives of the Serbian and Montenegrin alternative movements in Kosovo walked out of the hall because their ultimatum was not met, the two-day meeting of Yugoslav alternative movements on Kosovo continued with participants presenting their views on the subject of "Human Rights and Democracy in Kosovo and Yugoslavia." [passage omitted]

Kosovo Youth Parliament President Halil Matoshi began by saying that the Mostar Resolution has been trampled on and ignored by the state apparatus and the SFRY political system, while the Albanian population of Kosovo has kept its word, because all the protest meetings throughout the province in March called for the establishment of dialogue between the state and the Kosovo opposition and between the Albanians and the Serbs and Montenegrins. Nevertheless, the brutal killings, inhuman tortures, arrests, and harsh controls of the Albanians have not come to an end. On the contrary, the wave of violence, repression, and state terror has swelled in the most brutal way. One thing is clear, he said, and that is that dialogue with the legal system in Kosovo failed because there is nobody in today's Kosovo of this kind who holds the necessary competence.

Although the Mostar Resolution called for the withdrawal of the joint militia units, what he called the Yugo-Serb state has blanketed us with 2,500 more militia with military equipment. The resolution also called for the emergency measures to be lifted, but we have seen that they have only become more severe.

He ended his speech by saying that nobody should think that the fire in Kosovo can be localized. If the warmongering strategy of certain circles in Serbia and Kosovo succeeds, the dead and injured will not be counted only in Kosovo and among Albanians! Tomorrow we will all have to answer for ourselves, including those who kindled the blaze and those who did not wish to quench it. Two sides are necessary for dialogue, as well as for war. In dialogue, both sides can win, but in war, we will all lose.

Dibran Osmani, from a recently formed political party, the Kosovo Democratic Youth Union that includes more than 25,000 young people, spoke about the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation's long neglect of the interests of Kosovo young people. He then spoke about the emigration of more than 50,000 young Kosovars abroad, the repeated murders of young Albanians in the Yugoslav People's Army without any kind of official explanation of them, and the trials and imprisonments of the last nine years. He also shed light on some tragic episodes in the recent history of the Albanians, such as the massacre in Drenica after the liberation, the slaughter of 4,000 young Albanians in Bar in 1945, the starvation of those whose agricultural surplus was confiscated in 1947, and the collection of weapons before the Brioni plenum [1966]. Regarding the problem of Serbian and Montenegrin emigration, he said that this is a demographic movement, mainly of the prewar colonists who settled in Kosovo. As its antithesis, he cited the forced expulsion of Albanians from southern Serbia 100 years ago, when 182 villages were burned and destroyed by the Serbian army in Toplica, Jablanica, and elsewhere. As for the constitutional status of Kosovo, he said that it must be realized that Kosovo became part of the federal Republic of Serbia through Yugoslavia, and not the other way around. [sentence as published] [passage omitted]

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Chairman Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that the key problem in Yugoslavia is the establishment of democracy, which at present is only being introduced in very small doses. The dialogue among all groups in Kosovo foreseen by the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council was a very good idea, but nothing has come of it after two months. They laid down the condition that dialogue can be carried out when the situation is quiet, which recalls the dictum, "We will fight a war, and whoever survives can join in the negotiations." Our state is still not prepared to take civilized measures. On the contrary, besides the state of emergency imposed by the federation, we now have a republican state of emergency in the form of what he called a police coup d'etat.

On the question of Kosovo's future constitutional status and its autonomy, he said that the Albanians have so far been excluded from the public debate of this issue. As long as the republics in Yugoslavia insist on as many attributes of statehood as possible, the Albanians in Kosovo will be denied to right to talk about autonomy. Why is it being forgotten that Kosovo is autonomous precisely because of the national factor, i.e., the presence of the Albanians? Do you think that if there were no Albanians in Kosovo there would be autonomy for the Serbs within Serbia? According to this logic, there should also be autonomy for, for example, Sumadija within the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Dr. Ymer Jaka, from the Pristina Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, said that the Albanians in Kosovo are subjected to discrimination and have been reduced to the rank of second-class citizens, while state offices openly express the suspicion that they are enemies of this country. He drew attention to the violations of human rights in the field of communication within a people, both in Albanians' communication with Yugoslav officials, and with their fellow Albanians in their kin state. Not only have individual contacts with Albania been made impossible, because exit visas for Albania have been imposed since 1981, but institutional cultural and academic contact has been broken off. While citizens of Albania can follow Yugoslav television programs, we here have not been able to watch Albanian programs.

Since March of last year, 70 Albanians, mainly young people, have been killed and 200 others have been wounded, while there has also been the recent case of mass poisoning. The Belgrade Military Medical Academy issued its verdict on the poisoning within two days, although it is well known that health institutions in the world require at least six weeks to analyze such cases.

In connection with the killings, he said that they did not take place in face-to-face confrontations; weapons were usually fired from armored vehicles and victims were mainly hit in the head and the back, even with dum-dum bullets.

Veton Surroi, from the Pristina Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, intervened briefly with the suggestion that the Kosovo crisis must be examined in a bloc-free way. On one hand, we have those who say that 400,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have emigrated from Kosovo, and on the other hand there are those who say that Albanians have been massacred and have been emigrating since the war. There can be no discussion from such narrow national standpoints, and we must try to de-Nazify the problem. This is a key issue where human rights are concerned. [passage omitted]

Lawyer Bajram Kelmendi, from the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, said that political delinquency has been declining in Yugoslavia as a whole, and has been increasing only in Kosovo since 1981, as shown by the fact that 90 percent of political prisoners in the SFRY are Albanians. He asked whether the Albanians are a special category of the population with innate tendencies to political crime, or whether the problem lies elsewhere. The first possibility is quite out of the question because it flies in the face of all scientific facts and sound common sense. The massive extent of political crime in Kosovo has its origin in the political attitude of the state toward the Albanians since 1981; since that time 600,000 people, or one in three Albanians, have passed through the hands of the police, and a large number of them have been imprisoned for crimes or misdemeanors. It is enough, he said, to leaf through the records of the Kosovo courts to see what ridiculous and ordinary acts have been declared to be serious political crimes under Articles 114, 133, and 136 of the Yugoslav Penal Code, which has recently been expanded with the novel Penal Law of the Socialist Republic of Serbia (Articles 61a, 61b, and 61v) that penalizes acts that jeopardize the rights and freedoms of citizens of another nationality and on which basis aspects of the most commonplace human behavior are stigmatized as criminal acts.

Bajram Kelmendi illustrated this with a range of court cases. For example, a young Albanian was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for unnatural behavior toward a Serbian woman of full age. He also cited the case from Pec of a sentence of two years' imprisonment merely because of obscene language used toward a Serbian neighbor, or the case of another young Albanian from the village of Lubenic near Pec: For attempted sexual intercourse with a girl of Serbian nationality, he was declared guilty of the criminal act of rape with hostile motives against the SFRY, and was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment.

As for the particular forms of violations of human rights and freedoms during judicial procedures after political crimes in Kosovo, he said that they include the use of torture both in pretrial detention and during court procedures, the most serious example of which is the conduct of investigations by members of the security services involving physical and psychological torture, of which the Yugoslav public has been most strongly convinced during the trial being held currently in Titova Mitrovica. Another specific form of the violation of human rights and freedoms in Kosovo in the course of judicial procedures is the restriction of the right to defense in the course of investigation, which excludes the possibility of professional defense, always on the same excuse that this is for special reasons involving the country's defense and security. In Kosovo, this exception has become the rule, as is most seriously evident in the questioning of witnesses by the security services, in which cases witnesses admit that their testimonies to the investigator have been given under pressure.

Bajram Kelmendi said that human rights in Kosovo are violated in the most brutal way in the use of what is called isolation, not only because isolation is very protracted, but because of the maltreatment of those isolated. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

On the Nedakovac Case]

Dr. Zekeria Cana, from the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, described the sad incident at Nedakovac near Vucitrn that took place early in the morning of the day before yesterday. As he said, the joint militia unit entered the village at about 0300 and, while the family of Isak Gubetini was sleeping, broke down the door of his house, smashed the windows, tore up the floorboards, and destroyed his furniture. They beat up Isak Gubetini and his two sons, one of whom had to be taken at once to Pristina Hospital. As Dr. Zekeria Cana said, "This recalls nothing less than the dismal and tragic scenes during the terror of the Serbian Army in Kosovo in 1913, when the Serbian Army wreaked havoc among the Albanian populace." It is therefore cynical to talk about democracy in Kosovo today, when the most elementary rights of an entire ethnic community are being violated, just as it was cynical to talk of democracy in the Parliament of the Kingdom of Serbia in 1913, at a time when Albanians were being killed in Kosovo and entire villages were being burned.

Dr. Zekeria Cana distributed to those present photographs taken during this unprecedented militia intervention.